FOURTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BOARD OF MANAGERS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ANNUAL MEETING,

January 20, 1836.

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REPORT.

During the past year, the operations of this Society have been conducted upon a much more extended scale than before. This will account satisfactorily, we trust, not only for the larger expenditure, which will be reported by your Treasurer, but also for the debt unavoidably incurred, for the payment of which we must appeal to your further generosity.

According to the statement of the Office Agent, our sales have exceeded two thousand dollars; besides which there has been a considerable amount of gratuitous distributions. No one measure has been more promotive of our objects, than the establishment of this Office. It has become the centre of intercourse, and the medium of communication for those, who are co-operating with us. Indeed, it is the local habitation of the Society. We trust its value and importance are so justly appreciated, that we need not plead for its continuance.

Soon after the last anniversary, provision was made for the support of a gentleman, who would devote himself wholly to the Society, as its General Agent and Corresponding Secretary—the business of the Society having become sufficiently laborious to require the devotion of an individual's whole time to the duties of this department. The present incumbent commenced his services on the 1st of April. About the same time, the Rev. C. P. Grosvenor of Salem, was appointed assistant Agent for six months. At the expiration of that term, it was thought advisable to secure his valuable assistance until the end of the year. Both of these gentlemen have labored, as they have had opportunity and were able, in various parts of this and several adjoining States, with

good success almost everywhere, for they have seldom failed to gather large and attentive audiences, wherever they have proposed to lecture.

Our cause has also been very much advanced in Massachusetts by the efforts of Rev. Amos A. Phelps, Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and of Mr. George Thompson, respecting whom we shall have much more to say in another part of our Report. Besides the gentlemen already named, we are indebted to Mr. C. C. Burleigh, Rev. Orange Scott, Rev. Shipley W. Wilson, and Rev. P. R. Russell, for occasional but very valuable services. By these living voices, the claims of our enslaved countrymen have been urged upon many thousands of the citizens of Massachusetts, while other faithful friends of the suffering and dumb, have been as diligent and useful in their behalf with their eloquent pens.

The Liberator, which, though not indeed the official organ of any Society, must be acknowledged the most efficient instrument of the Abolitionists, has greatly enlarged the range of its circulation and influence; and has continued to speak in its accustomed tone of strength and courage. In one particular it is distinguished from all, and above all papers of this or any other age. Its columns are wide open to its worst opposers. The Editor even takes pains to lay before its readers whatever objections are urged against his principles, and whatever arguments are adduced in their support. "Judge between me and mine adversaries," is the invitation given in every number of the paper. There is a fairness and fearlessness in this course, that deserves high commendation. It shows in the Editor a consciousness of power in himself, and in the principles he propounds and advocates.

We often hear the complaint, that the columns of the Liberator are sullied by needless and provoking personalities, still our attachment to the paper was never stronger than it is now, nor our confidence higher in the singleness, purity and power of its uncompromising Editor. Our daily growing acquaintance with Mr. Garrison reveals to us new proofs, that he regards no man with the feelings of a personal enemy. But he has so identified himself with the cause he has espoused, that he may often seem to others to be influenced by personal feeling, in what he writes against its opposers. He "remembers them that are in bonds,

as bound with them." He feels for them as his brethren. Their chains have entered into his soul; and, we believe, he speaks for them, and as they would, if they had the power, and were permitted to give utterance to their thoughts. It is because he has thus put himself in their stead, and is willing to be crushed with them, if he cannot break their yoke, that we respect and love him. Many there are in this community, who are sensitive enough, when anything is said that may affect the reputation or feelings of one, who may be inhaling with every breath the air of liberty, and basking in the sunlight of popular favor, whose rights are secured, and who is able to defend himself. Mr. Garrison is as sensitive, when he hears anything said prejudicial to the cause of the poor, despised, down-trodden one, who has none to help him. *He is very jealous for the slave.* For this we respect, we love him. This is the source of his severity, and in this too is the secret of his power. He is one of those to whom contemporaries never do justice. Posterity will highly appreciate him. The general strain of his writings must exalt him among the friends of civil and religious liberty. That liberty is in peril, sore peril in our land. The greatest evils are struggling for perpetuity here, and can only be broken down by great power. "Interests of infinite moment are at stake, and he is to be admired for binding himself to them, with the whole energy of his mind, and for defending them with fervor and vehemence. We must not mistake Christian benevolence, as if it had but one voice, that of soft entreaty. It can speak in piercing and awful tones. There is constantly going on in our world a conflict between good and evil. The cause of human nature has always to wrestle with foes." Never has it encountered more determined enemies than in this country, at this time. The greatest victory in the cause of human nature is yet to be achieved in this Republic. It may have to be won by the severest struggle. But won it must, it will be. The spirit of the age and the spirit of the Almighty assure our spirits that it shall be won. "Men gifted with great power of thought and language, and loftiness of sentiment," like Mr. Garrison, "are especially summoned to the conflict. They hear, as it were, in their own magnanimity, and generous aspirations, the voice of a divinity; and thus commissioned, and *burning with a passionate devotion to truth and freedom*, they must and will speak with an indignant en-

ergy, and they ought not to be measured by the standard of ordinary minds, in ordinary times. Men of natural softness and timidity, of a sincere but effeminate virtue, will be apt to look on these bolder, hardier spirits, as violent, perturbed, and uncharitable; and the charge will not be wholly groundless. But that deep feeling of evils, *which is necessary to effectual conflict with them, and which marks God's most powerful messengers to mankind*, cannot breathe itself in soft and tender accents. The deeply moved soul will speak strongly, and ought to speak so as to move and shake nations."

Those who have read Dr. Channing's brilliant and much admired review of Milton's character and writings, will perceive that we have appropriated to our purpose, in the foregoing paragraph, what he has offered in palliation, if not apology, for "the party spirit, coarse invective, and controversial asperity," of that great champion of freedom, of whom he elsewhere says, "Milton we should rank among seraphs." Surely the faults of a seraph may be forgiven in a man.

Twenty societies, or more, have been formed auxiliary to this since our last Anniversary. Five of them are of females. Our opposers affect to sneer at their co-operation. But we welcome, we are grateful for it. The influence of women never was, never will be insignificant. It is dreaded by those, who would be thought to contemn it. Men have always been eager to secure their co-operation. In those emergencies, that have tried men's souls, women have always borne their part well. Honorable mention is made of many, who toiled and suffered with the Savior and the Apostles, for the redemption of the world. Not a few there were, in the perilous times of the Reformation, who stood side by side with those, who dared to defy a power, that had well nigh subjugated the whole of Christendom. The hands of our Pilgrim Fathers, too, were strengthened, and their hearts encouraged, by the presence and the fortitude of their women. Our American revolution was not achieved by men alone. Their wives and daughters partook of their hardships, and animated them to persist in the enterprise. In England, women were among the earliest, the latest, the most untiring, uncompromising promoters of the Abolition of the Slave Trade; and were even more conspicuous in those recent efforts of philanthropy, which have effected the emancipation of *eight hun-*

dred thousand in the British West India Islands. We hail it therefore, as most auspicious of our success, that so many faithful and zealous women have espoused the Anti-Slavery cause in this Republic. Events of the past year have proved that those, who have associated themselves with us, will be helpmates indeed; for they are animated by a spirit that can brave danger, endure hardship, and face a frowning world.

Would that there were time for us to speak, as our feelings dictate, and truth would justify, of our numerous fellow laborers in various parts of the country; Birney and Weld and Wattles and Thome in Ohio — and Tappan and Stuart and Wright and Greene and Jay and Smith in New York — and Gould in Pennsylvania — and Phelps and Goodell and Potter and Stanton now in Rhode Island, and Storrs in New Hampshire, and Murray in Vermont, — and Thurston and Rand in Maine — and many very many more, who deserve to be had in everlasting remembrance for their steadfastness and zeal in this most unpopular, but most righteous cause. It will be necessary for us, however, to confine ourselves to the statistics of the cause in Massachusetts alone, and to indulge only in general observations upon the leading events of the year, that has just gone with its momentous account.

But we may not thus excuse ourselves from making special mention of the services of one, now we trust breathing again the air of his native land, whence he came to this country, at the invitation of this society, to raise his voice of strength, and exert his various, and surpassing talents, for the relief of suffering men. Mr. Thompson has been the chief speaker among many who have spoken well, and has labored more abundantly than any of those, who have abounded most in this work of the Lord. He has labored with us and for us in a manner and a measure, that have given an impulse to the Anti-Slavery cause, which will be felt to the last. It flows and will keep flowing on. He poured himself out like water; and the wonder of all who heard him was, that his stream of facts, and arguments, and illustrations and appeals, seemed to be never diminished, but still gushed forth as from a fountain, ever full and overflowing. He performed, while here, an amount of service, as we have elsewhere said, the narrative of which would be regarded by many as an incredible tale. The remembrance of his energy, zeal, and alacrity in the work he was

sent to do, will never be effaced; and we hope it will incite us to constantly increasing diligence. He came to us as highly commended as he could be, by the Christian philanthropists of England. And he returns to them with our united testimony, that he has amply redeemed the pledges they gave us. He has shown himself to be thoroughly furnished for his office. And he has in no case compromised the Christian character of his mission.* We cannot find words to express our shame for the ineffable meanness of our opposers, who, unable to answer his arguments or to withstand his appeals, were eager to drive the highly gifted philanthropist from the country, by insult, calumny and violent assaults upon his person. They have effected their purpose. But we weep rather for them, than for him.

The past year has been prolific of events, that have gone to establish the charges, which the Abolitionists have alleged against our country; have satisfied us, that we have "laid the axe to the root of the tree" of evil, which has so long been diffusing its poison throughout our borders; events that have revealed the importance already attained by the Anti-Slavery enterprise, in the regard of the whole nation; and such as we think, should encourage us to persevere in our work, still putting our trust, and hope of success, wholly in the truth and the grace of Almighty God. We shall comment upon as many of them, as a due regard to the other exercises of this occasion will permit — being guided in our course more by the order of time, than of the relative importance of the events, we shall notice.

In this order, the formation of "the American Union for the relief and improvement of the colored race," comes first. What gave birth to it? What but the conviction that the claims of that down-trodden people were to be no longer set at naught, or disregarded? A number of highly respectable gentlemen, prominent in the administration of ecclesiastical matters, perceived that Slavery had come to be a subject of so much concernment, both in and out of the church, that it would not do to overlook it any longer. The despised Abolitionists had made a deep impression upon the public mind. They had exposed the delusion of Colonization, to

* If any are in doubt on these points, we refer them to our statement respecting him published in the Liberator of Dec. 5, the Boston Courier of Dec. 17, and the Daily Advocate of Dec. 31, 1835.

which "the wise and prudent" had given their countenance and aid; and thousands who had promoted that project with the unfeigned desire thereby to afford relief to our oppressed countrymen, being now undeceived, were turning their energies and their prayers, to the advancement of our simple and most righteous endeavor to break at once the yoke of bondage. After an announcement of several weeks, a Convention called by a number of these respectable men, who, we were told, "acted as a committee of a much larger body of gentlemen,* who had been for some time considering the subject," assembled in Boston, January 14th, 1835. But what to do they seemed not to know. They were afraid to admit into their counsels men who were not of their sort. They dared not to allow a free discussion of principles. They thought it inexpedient to denounce Slave-holding as a sin, which ought to be immediately abandoned. And so, after a day's deliberation, they formed an *elective* association for the purpose of "convincing American citizens," of what we are continually told by our opposers, they are already convinced, "that the *system of Slavery* in this country is wrong, and ought to be universally abandoned."

It was obvious at a glance, that the institution could have no moral energy, for it was based upon no definite, high and life-giving principle. The formers of it seemed to be actuated more by a regard to the assumed right of the slave-holder, than to the birth-right of man — and to crave permission to advocate the cause of injured and insulted humanity, rather than to insist upon it as a duty so to do, from which they could not be excused by their consciences, or God. The Union seems not yet to have done anything. It may never do anything. But this attempt to form a new *national* organization for the benefit of the colored population, made by such men, and at such a time, is regarded as a most expressive acknowledgment that something must be done. It therefore helps to arrest and fasten public attention upon this too long neglected claim of a common humanity; and will help, we trust, to bring many minds to discern the simple truth for which we contend, and induce them to contend with us for the truth, that the first thing to be done for the improvement of these subjects of our commiseration, is to procure from individuals and

* See the Recorder.

communities the *recognition of their right* to improvement — yes to as high an improvement of their physical, mental and moral condition, as they may be able to attain by the unembarrassed exercise of the faculties God has given them. The recognition of this right would be the immediate and entire abolition of Slavery at the South — and at the North it would at once open for them the way to enjoy all the privileges of men, on the same conditions with others.

In February last, our hearts were gladdened by a voice for the slave from the midst of the Legislators of the land. Often had Congress been entreated to hear the cries, and regard the wrongs of the six thousand that are suffering a cruel bondage, within its own exclusive jurisdiction. Year after year, our petitions had been referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, by whom they were forthwith consigned to oblivion. But last February, several petitions were presented, and a motion was made that a special Committee be appointed to consider them. The House refused so to dispose of them. A member then moved that they be laid upon the table, and that they be printed. This gave rise to a vehement discussion, in the course of which the evils and the sin of slaveholding where spoken of in a tone of righteous abhorrence. Mr. Dickson, of New-York, especially distinguished himself. Several southern gentlemen spoke with great warmth, and in their remarks made it plain that serious apprehensions are entertained throughout the South, of the effect of discussion. They endeavored, as their manner is, to browbeat the northern members into silence. But no men will resort to intimidation, who are confident of the goodness of their cause, or of their ability to make a successful defence. They evidently dreaded investigation, and were determined, if possible, to quench the spirit of inquiry. But they might as well attempt to quench the light, or to arrest the advance of Spring. Every thing they said in the course of the debate only confirmed us in the persuasion, that we must persist until we get the subject of slavery fully before Congress. No measure will be more effectual to diffuse information, and enkindle thought and feeling throughout the land. Congress is as the central sun. It sends light and warmth to the extremities of the system which revolves about it. The considerations, which will lead to the abolition of this horrible institution in the District,

will bear with equal weight against it in every other part of our country. At the same time we overthrow the system there, we shall heave the foundation of it everywhere. This our southern brethren see, and, therefore, will they resist all attempts of Congress to act upon the subject, ay, even to entertain a petition. But they must be given to understand, that we see this result of the action of Congress as clearly as they do; and for this very reason, among others, shall never give over our endeavor to induce our National Legislature to remove slavery from within their own jurisdiction.

Some there are, perhaps many, who suppose that Congress cannot interfere with this abomination, which stands in all its hideousness within the very purlieus of the Capitol, because of some conditions which they have heard or imagined the States of Virginia and Maryland prescribed, in the cession of the District, by which Congress is precluded from all action in the premises. But the history of that transaction does not inform us of any such conditions. The only article in "the Act of cession," which prescribes any limitations to the possession thereby given, of the District, to Congress, or any limitations to the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, is the third, which reads as follows—"Provided, that nothing herein contained, shall be construed to vest in the United States any right of property in the soil, *or to affect the rights of individuals therein,*" *(i. e. in the soil)* "otherwise than the same shall or may be transferred by such individuals to the United States."* We have also the opinions of some of our ablest civilians, that the institution of slavery in the District is within the power of Congress to control, regulate, or abolish it. Nor do we see how it would have been constitutional for Congress to accede to any such condition, as is supposed to have been prescribed, seeing the language of the Constitution is so explicit and imperative — that it "*shall have exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever.*"

If, however, it shall be decided by the authorized expounders of the Constitution, that such a limitation was put upon the power of Congress, in this particular, by the Act of cession or in any other way, then, we trust, the Abolitionists will forthwith petition that the Seat of Government be removed to some portion of our

* See Burch's Digest, p. 214.

land,* that is not defiled by an *established system of outrage* upon the very principles, which our nation professes before all men to revere and maintain.

In February or March last, an exposure was made of a proceeding, by certain gentlemen of high standing in one of our religious denominations, that savors not a little of a spirit of domination, to which we fervently pray the Christians in this land may never be brought to submit. On the 31st of December, 1833, the "Board of Baptist ministers, in and near London," addressed a letter to "the Pastors and Ministers of the Baptist Denomination, throughout the United States," and sent it under cover to the Secretary of the "Baptist Board of Foreign Missions." According to its address, it ought forthwith to have been communicated, in the most practicable manner, to the whole body of Christians of that large and wide spread denomination in the country. But it was kept concealed, until it was brought to light, more than a year afterwards, through the medium of an English periodical. It was thus disclosed, that instead of giving free course to the excellent letter of the London Board, that it might be glorified in going through our guilty land, and do what good it could, certain ones in Boston, probably men of '*influence and standing*,' *suppressed it*. On the 1st of September, 1834, eight months after the letter was written, probably six after it was received, the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions took upon themselves to reply, and to keep both the letter and the reply concealed from "the generality" of their brethren.

We have not room to comment upon this high-handed measure, as it deserves. The epistle of the English brethren was evidently dictated by the generous spirit of the gospel — that spirit which cannot be restricted by geographical boundaries or political divisions — that spirit which would lead men to go out into all the earth, preaching deliverance to the captives, giving light to them that are sitting in darkness, and pouring the balm of consolation

* Surely, if Congress cannot legislate upon the subject of slavery in the District, then is the predicament of the slaves there, worse than it would be anywhere else. For it will not be pretended, that the Legislatures of Virginia or Maryland can emancipate them; so that they would be beyond the reach of any legislation. It were better then to return them to the governments, from under which they were taken, and which, we trust, would in due time be impelled, by an awakened public sentiment, to set them free.

into every wounded heart. It told, in the simplest manner, of the success, that had crowned their efforts for the abolition of B. W. India slavery; and affectionately besought their brethren in America to resort to the same measures, which had been so signally blessed in England, and rely upon the same grace to help them It exhorted them to expose the sinfulness of slaveholding — to deal faithfully with it, as with any other prevailing iniquity, leaving the commercial and political bearings of the question to such as might be concerned in them. What an opportunity was here, for the Baptists of the North to introduce the "delicate" subject of slavery to their brethren at the South. The publication of the letter from England alone might have opened the eyes of many, and carried conviction to their hearts. But the policy of the wise and prudent was different. They saw "a pleasing degree of union among the multiplying thousands of Baptists throughout the land. Brethren from all parts of the country unite in the general Convention, and co-operate in sending the Gospel to the heathen. Our Southern brethren are liberal and zealous in the promotion of every holy enterprise for the extension of the Gospel. They are generally, both ministers and people, slaveholders; not because they all think slavery is right, but because it was firmly rooted long before they were born, and because they believe that slavery cannot be instantly abolished." These are some of the considerations, (the rest are no more weighty) which the American gentlemen thought should excuse them from interfering, nay more, which they thought would justify them in interposing to prevent their British brethren from interfering, to bring slaveholders of their denomination to a sense of their sins. Thus they neither enter in themselves, nor suffer them that are entering to go in to their churches at the South, that they may expose to them the awful sinfulness of slave-holding; the glaring inconsistency of sending the gospel to the heathen abroad, while they are keeping men in heathen darkness at home; the folly of the plea, that because a sin of any kind abounds, and has long abounded, it must therefore be suffered to abound; and that they may convince them by argument and facts, that slavery ought to be, and can be, (so far as the individual is concerned,) *instantly* abolished.

Was there ever a more striking instance of partnership in iniquity? The Church at the North stands up as the protectress of

the Church at the South — stands up to guard her from any attempts to purify her from a pollution as foul, an abomination as dread as any to be found among the heathen, they are so zealous to convert! Can that be considered a holy bond — a Christian union, which binds these brethren together?

It is due to our Baptist brethren, in whose communion may be found as many or more abolitionists than in any other, to add that the above mentioned disclosure was received by them with the utmost surprise and regret. Measures were immediately taken to call the attention of the whole denomination to the correspondence, and ascertain the view which was generally entertained of its propriety. The result was that a letter of a very different tenor and spirit was prepared, and having been signed by 183 Baptist ministers,* was sent to the London Board.

We know it will not be thought invidious towards others, who have greatly contributed by their excellent writings, to help on our glorious enterprise, if we make especial mention of the volume from the pen of the Hon. William Jay, of New York. His "Inquiry into the character and tendency of the American Colonization, and American Anti-Slavery Societies," was published in the early part of the last year. Coming from him, a man extensively known, and highly respected and beloved by those who know him, it could not fail to command the public attention. The very rapid sale of the first and the second editions, evinced the eagerness of thousands to know the results of his inquiry into the sentiments and plans of the two Societies, which had stood from the birth of the latter, in the attitude of opposition. It is a book so full of pertinent facts, and carefully drawn conclusions, that it could not fail to impart the convictions of its author to other minds. No book on the subject has probably been read by more persons, nor has any one been instrumental to the conversion of more.

The Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, last May, was very numerously attended at New York, by members from all parts of the Union, north of the Potomac. Never did an assembly evince a deeper interest, a more entire devotion to an object. There seemed to be but one mind, one heart among them. Although they had come from various and distant parts of the land, were strangers to each other according to the

* As many more, we are assured, might have been obtained.

flesh, of diverse religious sects, and opposite political parties, yet were they as a band of brethren. They had come together to do their heavenly Father's will. They had drunk of the same spirit, — they were united with one accord in the same righteous cause. A proposition was made by one of the most enterprising, to extend greatly the plan of publications — somewhat on the scale of the temperance publications at Albany. The proposal, though involving an annual expenditure of $30,000 was favorably received, and more than half the required sum was subscribed on the spot. It would be grateful to our feelings to dwell awhile upon the proceedings of this meeting; but a full and interesting account of them is already before the public, in connection with the very able Annual Report. To that document we refer those of our readers, who have not seen it.

A few days after the Annual Meeting in New York, the New England Convention of Abolitionists assembled in Boston. The same spirit of devotion to the cause of the oppressed, was manifested here also. Meetings were held every day through the week, and were crowded to the last. Nor were the friends lavish only of their time and their words. They contributed freely of their money also. They gave on the spot, or pledged an amount little less than 6000 dollars.

We were favored here and at New York, with the presence, and the assistance of James G. Birney, of Kentucky — once a slave-holder — now pre-eminently the servant of slaves, laboring with untiring assiduity, unshrinking fortitude, to procure their liberation, and advance their welfare. All were charmed with him. He was mild, yet firm; cautious, yet not afraid to speak the whole truth; candid, but not compromising; careful not to exaggerate in aught, and equally careful not to extenuate and conceal. He imparted much useful information, and animated us to persevere in our work. While here he issued proposals for a paper, the publication of which was to be commenced on his return, at Danville in Kentucky, a paper devoted to the Anti-Slavery cause. This work, for which all who heard Mr. Birney have looked with impatience has been delayed, owing to a series of persecutions, of which all have doubtless heard. But while we are writing our report — the first number of the *Philanthropist*, is laid upon our table. We open it with a beating heart. A paper dedicated

to the cause of the slave! and edited, at the risk of his life, by a man who was born to a slave inheritence, and lived a slave-holder, until the truth, as it is taught by the abolitionists, searched his heart, "as it were the eye of the Almighty," convicted him of sin, and brought him to repentance! How meet for repentance is this work! Its motto breathes the spirit of a contrite heart—"*We are verily guilty concerning our brother * * therefore is this distress come upon us;*" and the whole air and tone of this first number is expressive of that calm determination of a man, who has counted the cost of the war in which he has enlisted, and is willing to sacrifice every thing, but his duty to God and man. Mr. Birney's paper is printed at new Richmond, Ohio. Truly an appropriate name is this for the place, whence is to issue a paper, that will boldly confront the pro-slavery doctrines, that are poured upon the community from the old Richmond presses.

It is a fact, which will be mentioned in future times, as an evidence of the illiberality of Boston in the 19th century, that it was with difficulty any place could be obtained here for the meetings of the Convention. Eight of the churches were applied for without success. Boylston Hall, the Temple, and Amory Hall, were also peremptorily refused. At length, after considerable hesitation, the New Jerusalem Church was granted for one half day. The rest of our meetings were held in Julien Hall, which was not large enough to accommodate the assembly.

A written request, signed by one hundred and twenty-five citizens, was presented to the City Government for the use of Faneuil Hall, but it was denied us. This fact must not be forgotten. It is of consequence in connection with another to be mentioned in its place, as illustrative of the temper of our times.

We have observed with great satisfaction, that the subject of Slavery has been introduced, and debated more or less, at the annual meetings of most of the religious denominations in our country. It was agitated with considerable warmth in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and such a disposition made of it as will necessarily bring it before that body, at the next anniversary. During the Conferences of the Methodist Churches in New England, several lectures were delivered by Mr. Thompson and Mr. Phelps; after which the "Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Society" was formed, comprising 70 of the ministers and elders of

the Methodist Church. The Appeal published by several ministers of that denomination, and the Defence of the Appeal are among our ablest publications. And the labors of brothers Scott and Storrs have been blessed. In the slave States also, at all their ecclesiastical meetings, resolutions have been passed upon Slavery, some of which indeed, speak out unequivocally in its favor; but others in a qualified, faultering tone, which reveals the fact, we have learnt from other sources, that there are some righteous ones at the South, who have not "bowed the knee to Baal," have not been made to worship this American Moloch. These men will yet, we trust, stand up on the Lord's side; and though comparatively few, they will be a host; for one man of right, moral and religious principles, can chase a thousand foes, and two can put ten thousand to flight.

As soon after the Annual meeting of the American Society, as it was practicable, the enlarged plan of publication and distribution went into operation. The Emancipator, Human Rights, the Record, and the Slave's Friend, each of them monthly periodicals, issued in successive weeks, at New York, were all published in large editions, and were scattered unsparingly through the land. This has been the *occasion*, not the cause, of the outrages at the South, committed upon the persons of American citizens, and the sanctity of the public mail. Designing men seized upon it to make the community there believe, that the Abolitionists were distributing incendiary pamphlets among the slaves. As it is believed that we have done so by many both here and there, we feel ourselves called upon thus officially to deny it. We declare unequivocally, that we have never known or heard of an Abolitionist, who has sent a tract, a page, or a word, to any of the slaves. We are confident, after much inquiry, that nothing has been sent to them, directly or indirectly. We have refrained from sending our publications to them, not because they contain any sentiments, which the slaves ought not to know we cherish. There is not a word in them, so far as we have read, which would instigate the slaves to insurrection — unless they have the perverse ingenuity of a certain Boston editor, who construes a solemn prohibition into a sanction of violence. If any insurrectionary passage has been found in them, why has it not been adduced by our opposers? Surely they have been eager enough to find aught against us. There are of course in some of our tracts, descriptions of the

wrongs and sufferings of the slaves; but it were the height of absurdity to suppose, that such descriptions would be so exciting to their revengeful feelings, as are the wrongs and sufferings themselves. It would, we think, tend rather to soothe their outraged humanity, to know that there are some who sympathize with them. Nevertheless, we have refrained from sending our publications to the slaves for four reasons. First.—They are not addressed nor adapted to the slaves, but to their masters. Secondly.—If sent, they probably would never reach the slaves, so vigilant is the espionage of their oppressors. Thirdly.—If they should got safely to their hands, they could not read them. Fourthly.—We fear, if any of our publications should be found in their hands, they would be as fuel added to the fire of their afflictions. For similar reasons, we have never sent from the office in Boston, and the Secretary of the Society at New York assures us, he has never knowingly sent anything, to the *free* colored people south of Washington City. In that city, there were two or three colored men who were subscribers to our publications. If, further south, there have been other subscribers of that description — they have not been known to us as such. That very few, if any, have gone into their hands, is evident from the accounts given by the southern Post-masters, of the contents of the mail bags, which they have had the audacity to examine. Only one, we believe, reports that he found anything for free colored persons, and he does not quote a word to prove, that what he found was insurrectionary. Suffice it here to add, that with the very few exceptions just named, our tracts and periodicals have been sent to ministers of religion, members of Congress, and of the several State Legislatures, Justices of the Peace, and other men of standing in the community, whose names we have happened to hear of from those who knew them, or have gathered from the State Registers.* Although generally, perhaps, unacceptable, they have been by some very graciously received; and are silently but surely working the change we desire to effect. It is, we verily believe, because they

* In no case, from the office in Boston, and we are assured, that in no case, from the office in New York, have any of our publications been sent to persons at the South, or anywhere else, after we have been informed that they wished not to receive them. In one word, we have pursued the well known course of the publishers of moral or religious periodicals.

see this change is taking place, that those who love their unrighteous gains more than they respect the rights of man or the will of God, are thrown into a state of feverish excitement; just as the craftsmen at Ephesus were by the preaching of Paul. And they are resorting to similar modes of opposition to the truth. It is easy enough for a few designing men to fill a city with confusion; to raise mobs who shall cry out lustily anything that may be dictated by the spirit of disorder. False witnesses can easily be suborned — and a whole community made to believe a lie. Now all we say in answer to those, who charge upon us the circulation of insurrectionary pamphlets, is, produce them. Bring us and our publications before a tribunal of justice, and if an impartial jury shall find us guilty of the charges preferred, let us suffer the consequences which the law prescribes. The course pursued by our opposers shows, they are conscious that neither truth nor law is on their side. Indeed some of them have been honest enough to acknowledge, that they cannot hope to obtain our conviction before any court, but that over which Judge Lynch presides.

But we are censured for sending our publications to the South, by some who exonerate us from all suspicion of a design to excite the slaves to insurrection. Dr. Channing says that "in so doing, they, (the Abolitionists) acted weakly and without decorum." We marvel at this censure. We marvel the more, because we have been so often rebuked for not going to the South, there to proclaim with our living voices, the truths and sentiments which we have sent thither on the silent and less exciting pages of our books. Why have we not acted naturally? We are anxious our Southern brethren should be informed of all we think, and all we purpose to do. There is not a thought or purpose in our hearts, which we would not have them know altogether. They can never be affected as we wish, until they are made to understand what we would have them do. We grant there should be a selection, (and so far as we are acquainted with the procedure there has been a selection) for some of our publications are better adapted to the North than to the South. But we conceive it to be our duty to distribute to all, who are guilty of slave-holding, our pamphlets and papers, exhibiting our views of the enormity and the danger of so doing. Surely Dr. Channing would not consider it weak and

indecorous in us, were we to give temperance tracts to drunkards, and distillers, and retailers; or tracts against lotteries or theatres or brothels to those, who are engaged in the management, and reap the profits of those corrupting institutions. And is there any valid reason why we should not deal likewise with slave-holders?

But the pictures! the pictures!! these seem to have been specially offensive. And why, unless it is because they give specially distinct impressions of the horrors of slavery? They were efficient instruments in exposing the cruelties of the Inquisition to the public abhorrence, before which the institution was unable to stand; and in arousing the attention of the Christian world to the hideous superstitions of the Heathen, and in leading to a generous effort for the redemption of the benighted children of the East. Pictorial representations have ever been used with success, in making any desirable impression upon the minds of men, the bulk of whom are more immediately and thoroughly affected by a picture, than a verbal description. Why then should they not be used, in the exposure we purpose to make of our national wickedness? If any of them represent what does not exist, let the falsehood be shown and reproved. But with what reason or justice are we called upon to suppress the picture, so long as the original is allowed to defile our land?

Although the explosions of passion which have rent the Southern States, are attributed to "the incendiary publications of the Abolitionists," it is obvious they are justly attributable to another cause. A great part has been the effect of political manœuvring. The policy of the Southerners, from the first, has been to secure the election of a southern man to the office of President.* In this they have failed but twice, and then only for one term each time. Mr. Webster's high claims, and Mr. Van Buren's high probability of success at the next canvass, have given them serious apprehensions, that they shall once more be compelled to resign the chair to a northern candidate. To prevent this, has been their aim since the last election was decided; and they soon seized upon the project of the Abolitionists as a hinge, upon which to make their plan turn. Whatever may have been the belief, in times past, no one can now doubt that the Southerners cling to the institution of

* We have heard it said, that in all the elections that have taken place, only *nine* votes have ever been given at the South for northern candidates.

slavery with the utmost tenacity. Nothing, therefore, would so soon blast with them the reputation of a candidate for the presidency, as the imputation that he was in favor of the Abolition of Slavery. This charge was therefore alleged against both Mr. Webster, and Mr. Van Buren. Their partisans at the North, each of them eager to ingratiate their favorite with southern friends, have alike endeavored to demonstrate their respect for southern interests, by the most vehement condemnation of the Abolitionists. Hence they set about, at an early period of our movements, to misrepresent our sentiments and purposes, and to malign our characters. The southern papers most industriously circulated these false reports — until doubtless the community at the South were generally made to believe, that the Abolitionists were their most dangerous enemies, intending to excite their slaves to assert their rights, and thus bring on the horrors of a servile war. When, therefore, it was found that the publications of the Anti-Slavery Society were distributed through the mails, in great numbers, though with only one exception,* uniformly addressed to the masters, it was easy enough, by keeping back this material part of the truth, to throw the whole community into a consternation of fear, and a fury of passion. It was made to be generally believed, that the mails came laden with Anti-Slavery tracts and papers, in order to arouse the slaves to insurrection, although no proof was given that a single page had been put into their hands,† and although the slightest thought would have been

* The Post-master of Norfolk reported that an Anti-Slavery paper was sent to a colored man of that city.

† Last September, the writer of this Report, received a reproachful letter from a gentleman then in Massachusetts, containing the following extract from a letter he had just received from his daughter, resident in a Southern city. "Pamphlets are about the city — in which the negroes are urged to an insurrection, and are told, that *now* is the time, as so many of the male inhabitants are absent. The Mayor has one of these pamphlets. Numbers of the negroes are found armed with butcher knives, *very sharp!* What do the Abolitionists intend? The only answer I can give, is "*to murder your women and children!*" And then followed (what was to be expected from a woman, filled with alarm, by the false reports which were circulating around her,) a thrilling condemnation of the supposed authors of the evil, which was supposed to be impending over the city where she lives. To this communication I replied, expressing my regret at the state of distressing anxiety in which the lady was when she wrote the letter, but adding that the story bore, on the face of it, the appearance of falsity; that we

enough to detect the folly of the charge. Nevertheless, the Post Office was violated, and packages of papers were destroyed by a bonfire in the public square at Charleston; effigies of distinguished Abolitionists were also burnt with every expression of public hate, and large rewards were offered for the abduction of their persons. Citizens of northern States, pursuing their business or their pleasure at the South, were seized upon suspicion, and without a trial, thrown into prison, or subjected to cruel and infamous punishments. In answer to all these outrages, the North uttered but a feeble remonstrance. The political papers more than half excused them. Then public meetings were called at the South, to denounce the fanatics; and the patriots (?) at the North gathered eagerly together, even in Faneuil Hall, to respond to the same.

This political game, however, has been played with a reckless hand, that has defeated its own purpose. The tone of the South very soon became so despotic and ferocious, that the little remaining love of liberty and respect for civil rights at the North was roused to assert itself. It was not in the hearts of *all* the patriots here, to utter a broad approval of Slavery, and consign those who dared denounce it, to the summary disposal of Judge Lynch. Therefore, all they have done and said has rather tended to confirm the suspicions, which southern politicians have wished to propagate, i. e. that the people here are inimical to that system of oppression, which the people there are determined to uphold. So that the prospects of our northern candidates are less flattering than before the game commenced.

Nor is this all. The panic has passed, and a reaction has com-

should have heard of arrests and punishments, before the story of the intended insurrection could have transpired; moreover that such a plot, if it existed, must have been set on foot by some other person than an Abolitionist. If I were mistaken on *this* point, he could easily ascertain on his return to the South, as the pamphlets referred to in his daughter's letter "were about the city," and one of them was in the Mayor's hands. And I pledged myself, in case such pamphlets were or had been circulated there, and he would send me one of them, that if it emanated from the Anti-Slavery Society, I would publicly renounce my connection with that Society; or if it was the production of an Abolitionist, I would do all in my power to procure his public condemnation.

The gentleman went to the South early in October; but I have never received a copy of the incendiary pamphlet — nor a line from him informing of the truth of the report in his daughter's letter; nor in any other way have I heard a word about the intended insurrection.

menced. The demands of the South, and the course of our opposers here have been so outrageous — setting at nought the plainest principles of justice, and trampling in the dust the dearest rights of American citizens — that many who are not willing to be numbered as of us, are compelled to take sides with us, rather than submit to the reign of anarchy, and that wild usurper, Mob. The Abolitionists therefore now, in consequence of the assaults of their adversaries, occupy a more favorable position than ever. We are entrenched behind the citadel of our liberties. Our feet are planted upon the rock of our national security. If our opposers can succeed by the measures they have proposed, in preventing us from writing, speaking, meeting and publishing on the subject of Slavery, it will be apparent to the world — it will stand confessed before all men, that we are not a free people. To this we trust, the descendants of the Pilgrims will not consent. It will not be readily conceded, that there is any public evil in our country, beyond the reach of a corrective influence; or that there is anything in our political or religious institutions, needing amendment, that cannot be amended. No. Our excellent Constitution has guaranteed to us the free exercise of all the moral power, which God has given us.

The concession virtually made by the course of measures, pursued by our opposers both at the South and the North, is a most precious one to us, who rely only upon the power of truth to correct error, and of conviction of sin to lead to repentance. If it could be shown, that we are propagating what is false in fact, or in sentiment, would our opposers think of doing any more than to expose the falsity? Have they not wisdom and wit enough to show that slave-holding is right in itself, and salutary in its effects, if it be so? If the African or the descendant of an African be not a man, or if he have ever forfeited the prerogatives of a man; and again, if the slave-holder have any higher claim of property to the person of his fellow-being, than the thief has, or he who buys of the thief has, to the thing stolen, would not those, who so understand these matters, set themselves about to make us so understand them, and thus end the strife? Do they who are conscious they have the truth and the right on their side — do they fear discussion? Do they resort to outcry and violence and brutal force? We trow not. Hence we infer from the measures pur-

sued against us, that our opposers perceive we are urging facts and principles upon the consideration of our countrymen, which are unquestionably true, but such as they and the people generally are not prepared to receive and obey, — such as their pecuniary interests, their prejudices, their pride impel them to resist. But for these we feel no respect. We are not bound to show them deference. On the contrary, they are bound to submit to the eternal principles of justice and humanity. Will they resist? They will find it hard to contend with God. Even their wrath shall praise him — shall be so overruled as to become an instrument in the advancement of his cause.

We have been already led to notice his overruling providence. The violence and recklessness of our opposers have given a notoriety to the project of the Abolitionists, which, otherwise, it would not so soon have attained. Nay more, they have created a necessity for the interference of our National Government, for the protection of one of its departments, which in their madness, they have grossly violated. Something must be done for the preservation of the Post Office. The discussion, that must arise, will involve an inquiry into the use that has been made of the mails by the Abolitionists, of which our opposers have attempted to deprive us. It will be found on investigation, that we have been shamelessly calumniated. So that the very efforts of our opposers to suppress the truth, shall give it greater publicity. By burning our publications at Charleston, they have poured a blaze of light upon a subject, which they would fain consign to everlasting darkness. That fire will never be quenched, while a vestige of slavery remains upon our soil.

The very close connection of the events alluded to in the two or three preceding pages, has led us to disregard the order of time, by which we proposed to guide our commentary upon the past year. We should be unwilling, however, to leave unnoticed the fact, that the Anniversary of our national Independence was generally observed by the Abolitionists, in a manner tending, as we believe, to advance the high objects, avowed by the fathers of the American Revolution. Their love of liberty, their jealousy for human rights, has not been cherished in the bosoms of their descendants. Little did the founders of this Republic expect, that the most ruthless system of oppression would be *estab-*

lished in the land they had redeemed. Although they framed our otherwise excellent Constitution, on the mistaken and mischievous principle of compromise, still they were assiduously careful so to frame it, as not explicitly to recognize the awful violation of human rights, for which the South contended. It is worthy of remark that the language of our Magna Charta is so carefully chosen, that the unnatural, irreconcilable institution of Slavery may be abolished, without requiring the change of an article in that basis of our civil government.* Our fathers doubtless believed, that the spirit of the Revolution would ere long break every yoke. How have we disappointed their expectations! How dim has become our perception of truths, which were *self-evident* to them! How cold our love of those principles, which animated them to dedicate (in the manner they thought right) "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" to the cause of liberty! At the end of sixty years, their recreant descendants are the oppressors of millions! More than one sixth part of the people of the land they redeemed are in the most abject bondage, and paralyzing degradation! And sentiments are uttered by the Rulers of the people, which would have been shockiug to every feeling in our fathers' hearts, if they had been uttered in their day by the hereditary tyrants of the old world.† Was it not well then, and will it not be well hereafter, that the day, on which we commemorate their deeds, should be so spent as to rouse our nation to a sense of her injustice, cruelty, and glaring inconsistency; and bring her back to her plighted devotion to the inalienable rights of man?

On the 1st of August, we celebrated the anniversary of the emancipation, by the British Parliament, of 800,000 slaves, in the West Indies. We regard that as one of the most signal achievements of philanthropy — one of the most momentous events, in its future even more than in its present consequences, that has marked the passage of time. Many high considerations called

* Only five words would be even superfluous, viz: *three-fifths of all other persons.* Art. I. Sect. 2.

† We could too easily fill several pages with sentiments, deserving the above condemnation, taken from the Messages of most of the Southern, and several of the Northern Governors. But Governor Mc'Duffie, of South Carolina, has out-Heroded all the Herods in the land. His Message breathes the spirit of a Nero.

us to rejoice and take courage, at the event we then commemorated. We saw in it a proof of the majesty of *moral power*. Great pains have been taken, by the pro-slavery party in England and this country, to make it appear, that the effects of the emancipation in the West Indies, have been only evil. But we hesitate not to contradict their statements of facts — and the inferences they would draw from those statements, even if they were correctly made. In our view, the results of the experiment of the English Government have thus far been as favorable, as it was reasonable to expect. Moreover they have so turned out as greatly to confirm our faith in all the principles, for which we are contending. In those islands, where the abolition of slavery was succeeded by the apprenticeship system — a system under which the power of the master to compel the subject was abridged, and no adequate inducement to labor voluntarily was supplied,—there have been idleness, discontent and strife.* But in those islands, where the emancipation was immediate and entire, where the freedmen were placed at once under the influence of the same motives to industry and good conduct, that operate to produce these virtues in other men, there have been quietness, and industry, and increased enjoyment of life.

In the 1st number of the *Constitutional Magazine*, published in London, last August, there is an article, evidently written by one who is not a zealous Abolitionist, on "the workings of the Slave Emancipation Bill," which fully sustains, by facts that will not be questioned, all that we have said upon the subject. It is with pleasure that we refer our readers also to a recent publication from the pen of our talented, and devoted fellow-laborer, Mrs. Child,—"The Anti-Slavery Catechism,"—in which, together with much other elementary, fundamental information, she has given the best account of this matter that we have seen.

One of the beneficent purposes of this Society, and its associates, is to promote the improvement of the free people of color. With this view, more than two years ago, efforts were commenced for the establishment of a Manual Labor School, somewhere in New-England. Several thousand dollars were subscribed, and several

* There have not been, however, even in those islands, any insurrections or massacres.

places were recommended, as suitable for such an establishment. The Trustees and patrons of Noyes Academy in Canaan, N. H. at length made such representations, and offered such inducements, that it was thought best to bestow all the patronage, we could afford, upon that institution, on the condition that its advantages should be afforded to colored youth, upon the same terms as to those who are white. Our sanguine brother, Geo. Kimball, exerted himself with an assiduity, deserving as high praise as it would have received, if it had been completely successful. Ten or twelve colored young men were admitted into the Academy, and for a while we were encouraged to believe that the place was found, where they might enjoy unmolested the means of acquiring a good education. But the 10th of August last dispelled the pleasing hope. The following is the official account of their proceedings, which the destroyers of "Noyes Academy" had the effrontery to publish in the "*New-Hampshire Patriot.*"

"Agreeably to the vote of the town of Canaan, in the County of Grafton, and State of New-Hampshire, passed at a legal Town Meeting, holden on the 31st day of July last, the Superintending Committee appointed by said town to remove the "Noyes Academy," proceeded at 7 o'clock, A. M. of the 10th Inst. to discharge their duty, the performance of which they believe the *interest* of the town, the *honor* of the State, and the *good* of the whole community, (both black and *white*) required without delay.

At an early hour, the people of this town, and from the neighboring towns assembled, full of the spirit of '75, to the number of about three hundred, with between ninety and one hundred yoke of oxen, and with all the necessary materials for the completion of the undertaking. Many of the most respectable and wealthy farmers of this and the adjacent towns, rendered their assistance on the occasion.

Much credit is due to the patriotic and public spirited town of Enfield, for their prompt and efficient services.

The work was commenced and carried on with very little noise, considering the number engaged, until the building was safely landed on the common near the Baptist Meeting-house, where it stands, not like the monument on "Bunker's Heights," erected in memory of those *departed spirits*, which fought and fell *struggling*

for *liberty*, but as the monument of the *folly* of those living spirits, who are struggling to destroy what our fathers have gained."

A number of sentiments, prepared for the occasion by Mr. Eastman, were then read and received with great applause.

"After which Mr. Barber, in behalf of the town and Committee, tendered his thanks to the company, for their efficient and energetic assistance on the occasion. The company then retired to their respective homes; so ended the day; joyful to the friend of his country, but sorrowful to the Abolitionists.

JACOB TRUSSELL, *for the Committee.*"

Canaan, August 11, 1835.

Hereafter we trust we shall not be charged with bringing a false accusation, when we repeat what too many facts have compelled us to say, that in New-England, in this community which is so renowned for its religious and literary institutions — especially for its system of schools — that even here there is a most relentless spirit of hostility to any plan for the improvement and elevation of the people of color. The children of this class are not admitted into any of our High Schools or Academies; and three attempts, to establish schools of a higher order for them, have been thwarted by the violent opposition of those, who claim to belong to the respectable part of the community. We refer to "the Collegiate School on the manual labor system," which it was proposed to establish at New-Haven — to the Misses Crandall's school for girls at Canterbury* — and to that, of which we have just spoken, at Canaan. What could be more ungenerous, and inconsistent too, than to insist, as very many do, that the Africans and their descendants are an inferior race of human beings, and at the same time withhold from them those intellectual and moral means, which, with all our natural superiority, we find to be necessary for our improvement? All we claim for them is, that they have an equal chance to rise among us.† It is no honor to the

* A full and accurate account of the disgraceful proceedings at New-Haven and Canterbury, may be found in Judge Jay's Inquiry, page 28, *et seq.*

† We long to see among our white countrymen an evidence of the generous spirit, which dictated the following

"Reply of Sir J. C. Smyth, Governor of Berbice, to an Address of the "Free people of Color," thanking him for the relief afforded them from civil disabilities.

whites to keep in advance, so long as the blacks are chained behind.

On the 21st of August last, slavery was rocked in the cradle of liberty. Faneuil Hall, which was refused a few weeks before to the New-England Anti-Slavery Convention, was thrown open by the City Government to a meeting, held for the purpose of protecting American slaveholders in their utter violation of all those rights of man, which Americans have professed before the world to respect; protecting them too, not from an attempt to deliver their bondmen from their hands by force, but from an attempt to induce them to set their captives free. Henceforth let Ichabod be written on those walls.

We are happily relieved from the painful duty of commenting at length upon the riotous proceedings in Boston, on the 21st of October, by the particular, very able, and piquant Report of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, which will probably be extant in a few days. Why it has not been published ere this we know not. To that masterly document we gladly refer for the details

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GENTLEMEN,

The law in British Guiana acknowledges no differences amongst his Majesty's subjects in the exercise of their civil and political rights, founded upon so casual and trifling a distinction as the color of a man's skin.

In the discharge of my duty, and in appointing to such vacancies as may occur, in either our civil or military establishments, you may depend upon it that the eligibility of the candidate, and his fitness for the office, will be my only consideration, and that I shall know no distinctions but those caused by virtue and vice, loyalty and disloyalty. Under the circumstances in which you are placed by the law, and with the conviction you cannot but entertain of its being the firm intention of His Majesty's Government not to permit the continuance of distinctions, either theoretically or practically, founded upon color, let me earnestly entreat of you to endeavor, on your parts, to forget the words, and to present to the Government no further petitions or addresses as "men of color." You will assume, without further difficulty, that place in Society to which your abilities, information, or wealth may entitle you. All laws injuriously affecting you are abrogated. His Majesty's Government have repeatedly expressed their fixed determination to throw open the doors, leading to every department in the service of the State, to your talents. You have now, consequently, the road before you equally with your fellow subjects of a fairer complexion. Endeavor to outstrip your competitors in the acquirement of knowledge, the practice of virtue, and in morality of conduct. By these means you will conquer the esteem of the most prejudiced, and become entitled to every reward and distinction a just and discriminating Government may have it in its power to bestow upon you."

of a transaction, which inflicted an indelible disgrace upon this metropolis; and also for abundant evidence that those ladies, who have espoused the cause of our oppressed countrymen and countrywomen, perfectly understand the merits of the cause, and can wield, with no common dexterity and force, the weapons of our warfare, which are not carnal, but spiritual.

The mob in Boston!—the birth place of the American Revolution!—"in broad day light and in broad cloth—the mob in Washington Street" to prevent the exercise of the liberty of speech, and of the right peaceably to assemble,—it can never be forgotten! The infamy thereof will be eternal!

On the same day a similar outrage was perpetrated at Utica, New-York. Of these things we have not time to speak. Nor is their need we should. They are in every mouth. They are among the most signal events of the year. They have arrested the attention of all men. They have carried deep into many minds the conviction, that slavery has well-nigh destroyed "that reverence for liberty which is the vital principle of our Republic," and that it must be speedily abolished, or our own freedom will be but a name.*

In this connection, and in the order of time, we would now call your particular attention to "Dr. Channing's book on Slavery." The appearance of this book we consider very auspicious. Not that he explicitly favors the Abolitionists. Nor because he proposes any other plan better than ours. But because he has given to the public a luminous exposition of the rights of man, of the evils of slavery, and of the sin of reducing a rational and moral being to the condition of a piece of property. And, more than all, because he has given the sanction of his example to those, who would make the circumstances of our enslaved countrymen a matter of investigation, and call in question the right by which they are subjected to degradation. We have seen in the occurrences alluded to above, how many there are, who would persuade, ay, compel us to believe that because the Constitution of this confederacy permits the continuance of slavery, it is therefore im-

* We refer our readers with pleasure to the Report, just published, of the proceedings of the New-York Anti-Slavery Convention, held at Utica, Oct, 21—and the New-York State Anti-Slavery Society, held at Peterborough, Oct. 22—especially to the noble speech of that well-known philanthropist, Gerrit Smith, Esq.

proper in us to expose the wickedness of the institution, and endeavor so to change public opinion, as to procure its abolition. As soon could we be made to believe, that because our magistrates license the manufacture and sale of ardent spirits, and theatres, and lotteries, and gambling houses, we ought not to expose the sin and misery, which flow from these sources, and endeavor by all righteous means to put a stop to them. We thank Dr. Channing for helping us, with his most eloquent pen and wide spread influence, to repudiate a plea, which, if it be sufficient to bar our procedure, would likewise put a stop to the progress of all reformation. According to his precept and his example too, every one who can is bound to assist in bringing slavery to an end, whether by the thrilling appeal, or the cogent argument, or the pertinent fact — by whatever may help to expose the wrong, or to illustrate and enforce the right. Being, as he is, one of the most distinguished and popular of American writers, his book has introduced the cause of the slaves to thousands, who would turn contemptuously from our pages, without a perusal.

We are not ungrateful to Dr. Channing for his generous commendation of the characters and intentions of those Abolitionists, with whom he is acquainted. But we cannot therefore permit the objections, which he urges against our procedure, to pass without questioning their validity.

He finds fault with our doctrine, or rather with our phrase, "immediate emancipation," because it is liable to be misunderstood. But, we think, if the phrase expresses the true doctrine, it ought to be used, and explanations be patiently given, until the true doctrine, expressed in suitable phrase, has come to be generally understood, received and obeyed. Now, we regard the doctrine of "immediate emancipation," as the inference, which an upright mind would unavoidably draw from a due consideration of the rights of man, the evils of slavery, and the unparalleled iniquity of subjecting a human being to such degradation. On each of these points Dr. Channing's views are clear, and he has exhibited them, we think, so that the feeblest eye may see them. And it is plain to us, that he has drawn the same inference, that we have, although he rejects the words, in which we have expressed that inference. On the 119th page we read:

"What then is to be done for the removal of slavery? *In the first place*, the slave-holders should solemnly disclaim the right of property in human beings. The great principle, that man cannot belong to man, should be distinctly recognized. The slave should be acknowledged as a partaker of a common nature, as having the essential rights of humanity. This great truth lies at the foundation of every wise plan for his relief. The cordial admission of it would give a consciousness of dignity, of grandeur, to efforts for emancipation. There is, indeed, a grandeur in the idea of raising more than two millions of human beings to the enjoyment of human rights, to the blessings of Christian civilization, to the means of indefinite improvement. The slave-holding States are called to a nobler work of benevolence than is committed to any other communities. They should comprehend its dignity. This they cannot do, till the slave is truly, sincerely, with the mind and heart, recognized as a MAN, till he ceases to be regarded as property."

Now, we should have supposed, if the writer of the above paragraph had not forbidden the supposition, that he intended therein to inculcate the immediate emancipation of the slave — for surely he would have the first thing, that is to be done for the relief of the down trodden man, done immediately. He would have the foot taken from his neck at once. He would have the heavy yoke that crushes him, broken without delay. Surely he would have the *foundation* of the wise plan for his relief, laid *immediately*. He would not, could not counsel the slaveholder to postpone the recognition of the right of his slave to be treated as a man. There is a remarkable resemblance between what Dr. C. says ought to be done *in the first place*, and what the Abolitionists have insisted ought to be done *immediately*. We have not room to quote the passages, but confidently refer our readers to our publications generally.* The objection, that the phrase "immediate emancipation" requires an explanation, lies with equal force against every phrase expressive of a doctrine in theology, or a principle in science, until that term has come, by use and repeated explanation, to be readily understood. If the Abolitionists are teaching any truth, or inculcating any duty, which is unknown or disregarded

* Especially to the Lectures of Rev. A. A. Phelps.

by the people, then is it necessary for them, if they would arrest attention, to adopt a comprehensive phrase, expressive of the truth and the duty, on which they insist. Now, 'immediate emancipation' is the phrase, and the only phrase, that expresses the right of the slave, and the duty of the master. No man can hold his fellow being as a mere piece of property, as a domestic animal, one moment without tremendous sin, unless he does it ignorantly. And, if his ignorance be his own fault, (and how can it be otherwise in this country?) then is his sin the same. We insist upon immediate emancipation from slavery, as the right of the oppressed and the duty of the oppressor. It is the first thing to be done. Instead of being, as some suppose, the consummation of the great work of raising the slave to the stature of a freeman, it is the very beginning. Break the yoke that bows him to the earth as a brute, before you bid him try to walk erect as a man. Renounce all claim of property in him, before you instruct him to learn and do the will of God. Let his right, his inalienable right, his birth-right to the improvement of all his capacities as a man be recognized and secured, else will your efforts for his improvement be feeble, ineffectual, liable to be frustrated at any moment by a caprice of passion, or an incident in fortune. This is the doctrine we preach. In whatever sense we use the word immediate, whether in regard to time or order, it is the word that expresses what we mean. We insist upon it, in opposition to that doctrine, which teaches slaveholders to defer to another generation, or to some future time, an act of common humanity, that is due to their fellow men now, and will be due until it is done. We insist upon it, in opposition to that scheme, which proposes to liberate the slave, through the medium of a voyage to Africa.

Dr. Channing objects, that the use of the phrase "immediate emancipation has contributed much to spread far and wide the belief, that the Abolitionists wished immediately to free the slave from all his restraints." But ought we to be held responsible for this senseless, this wanton misconstruction of words? Is emancipation from slavery equivalent to a release from the righteous and wholesome restraints of civil government? Freemen — republican freemen — are subject to the control of equal laws. And is it not a wanton misconstruction of our words, to suppose they imply re-

lease from the restraints to which freemen are subject? We would indeed have the slaves immediately set free from all those restraints which operate to keep them slaves — for no men, however ignorant, however degraded, however wicked, ought to be slaves a moment. But we would have them subjected to righteous laws, and to any other salutary control, that may be found necessary for their good, and the good of the community. From the beginning of our enterprise, our claim for them has been, that they ought to be admitted to all the privileges and prerogatives of freemen, only upon the same conditions, after they shall have acquired, (those of them who do not now possess) the qualifications demanded of others.

If the misapprehensions, into which others may fall, or the misrepresentations they may be pleased to make of our language, are good reasons why we should not use language, that is properly expressive of the truth or the duty we are laboring to enforce, why, there is an end to all improvement in the theories or the practices of the world.

But Dr. C. says the Abolitionists "have fallen into the common error of enthusiasts, that of exaggerating their object, of feeling as if no evil existed but that which they opposed, and as if no guilt could be compared with that of countenancing or upholding it." We grieve that he suffered this censure to drop from his pen. It will repress, we fear, in many bosoms, the concern which was begining to rise for the slaves and the slave-holders in our land. There is no danger we shall esteem the evil of their condition to be greater than it is. We see all about us an alarming insensibility or indifference. "Suppose," to use the words of Dr. C. on the 137th page, "suppose that millions of white men were enslaved, robbed of all their rights, in a neighboring country, and enslaved by a black race, who had torn their ancestors from the shores on which our fathers had lived. How deeply should we feel their wrongs!" Yes, how deeply would the whole community feel their wrongs! Ay, how much more deeply would even the Abolitionists feel in that case! Yet, why should we not all feel as much in the case that actually exists, as in the one supposed? We are unable to find a reason, of which we are not ashamed. Let any person who thinks we may be in danger of estimating too highly the guilt of

countenancing or upholding slavery, read Dr. Channing's chapter on the "Evils of Slavery," and then show us, if he can, wherein we have exaggerated them.

Again, Dr. Channing objects to our *manner* of forming associations. "The Abolitionists might have formed an association; but it should have been an elective one. Men of strong principles, judiciousness, sobriety, should have been carefully sought as members. Much good might have been accomplished by the co-operation of such philanthropists." About as much good, we opine, as has been accomplished by the American Union, which is, or was an *elective* association. Why did not Dr. Channing himself, years ago, seek out men of such strong principles, judiciousness, sobriety, to co-operate with him, or with one another, for the relief of our enslaved countrymen? Doubtless because he was not moved thereto by as deep a sense of their wrongs, as he now feels; or because the considerations which have at length impelled him to lift up his voice, in the cause of the slave, did not then press upon his mind. Or in other words, perhaps, because he was not an euthusiast in this matter. 'Enthusiasts,' we are aware, is an epithet of reproach. Yet it is the epithet bestowed upon a sort of men who are adapted, in the providence of God, to do as important services as any other. They are the men who begin all difficult enterprises. They are the pioneers of reform. If it be not so; why, we ask it before the world, why, we ask it before the Searcher of all hearts, why did the judicious and the sober leave it for enthusiasts to begin this great work in our land? And why have they not come to our aid before now? If we had elected the wise and prudent, would they have associated with us? Are they the men to bear the brunt of a moral conflict? Not many wise, (as this world counts wisdom) not many rich, not many mighty, ever were found among the leaders of reform. God has always chosen *the foolish* to confound the wise.

By the foolishness of preaching the simple truth that the slaves are men, and ought to be immediately recognized and treated as men, we have confounded, moved, aroused, our guilty nation. And now that the "men of strong principles, judiciousness, sobriety" are, or soon will be constrained to speak and act, we and our enslaved brethren shall have the benefit of their counsels

and co-operation. We followed the example of our Lord, who went himself, and sent his disciples, at one time twelve, at another time seventy, preaching the truth in every town and village, not to select audiences, but to such as had ears to hear. We elected no man; but we prayed the Father of Spirits to elect many to this great work, by convicting them of the sin of indifference to the awful transgression of our land, baptizing them unto the spirit of *impartial* love, and filling their hearts with sympathy for the wrongs of the down-trodden slaves.

We are aware of the evils, which may arise, and often do arise, from the associated action of large numbers of men. Dr. Channing has hinted at some of them, and we thank him for the admonition, which cannot be too often given, unless it prevent men from associating for the promotion of any good object. We would have every individual so deeply conscious of his individual responsibleness, that the influence of no numbers, however large, shall overbear his personal conviction of what is right. But on the other hand, we see not what individual action would ever accomplish for the general good, if it should continue individual. Surely it is not until the individual, who has discovered some new truth, or detected some error at the foundation of the existing state of things, has brought others to see with his eyes, and to actin accordance with their new views, not till then, that he can be said to have effected anything for the good of society. All will allow, that the discoveries or conceptions, which have led to the improvements that have blessed the world, have originated with individual minds. This has been the case in science, politics, and religion. And they, who have thus given the first impulse to any reformation, are remembered as among the chief benefactors of the world. But how have they done the good, for which we bless them? We answer by giving rise to associated sentiment and action. We care not for the outward forms, the ceremony and circumstance of societies, any farther than they manifest to the world the existence and diffusion of the sentiment, that is to effect the desired good. But we demand how will this renovated sentiment be diffused, without associated influence and action? If it be confined to the bosom of the individual, will it not be like a talent wrapped

up in a napkin? How does "the enthusiasm of the individual," which Dr. Channing says, "is a mighty power," how does it operate for good, but by carrying the truth, which has aroused itself "far into other souls," enkindling them with devotion to the same good cause, and thus ensuring their co-operation, their associated action? We have the authority of our Savior and the Apostles, for resorting to the instrumentality of associations. One of the first acts of Christ's public ministry was to call to him, and associate with him, twelve men. 'Tis true, they did not form, what in our day, is technically called "a society." They did not appoint officers, excepting only a treasurer.* But they certainly were associated, and acted for one common object. And at an early period, societies for the maintenance and promotion of the Christian faith, were instituted by the Apostles, in the chief cities of the Roman Empire, having their officers, whose titles are so familiar, they need not be named. Now we will not deny, that the evils pointed out by Dr. Channing, were found to arise from these associations, and subsequent ones like them. Yet we trust much greater good has resulted from them; nor do we believe that Dr. Channing would venture to intimate, that the religion of Christ would have been preserved and diffused in the world, if such associations had not been formed. After all then, the only objection that can rest against associations is that (like everything else) they are liable to abuses. He does a valuable service, who points out the abuses, to which they are liable. But he would do an immeasurable evil, who should persuade men to renounce or refrain from them.

We have commented thus at length, and freely, upon this work, because we know that few writers in our country act upon more minds, than Dr. Channing, and therefore we especially deprecate the influence of any mistakes, into which he has fallen. Still we are not behind others in our approbation of a very large proportion of his work; nor in our admiration of the man, who enjoying as he did in the utmost serenity, the highest reputation as a writer and a divine, has, for the love of humanity, put at hazard the repose perhaps of the rest of his life; and sacrificed thousands of the ardent admirers of his genius and his eloquence.

* Judas was appointed to keep the bag.

Once more then. Dr. Channing expresses his belief that the Abolitionists have been signally unsuccessful in the course they have adopted — "that nothing seems to have been gained, and something has been lost to the cause of freedom and humanity." Now to quiet this apprehension, it were enough to point to his book, and ask, would it have been written, if the country had not been so agitated by the discussion of this great question, over which until lately the wise as well as the foolish were in a deep sleep, as to create a demand for such an exertion as he could make to give direction to the public mind? If we had done no more, than call out his book, we should have done some good, for surely his book is a gain to the cause of freedom and humanity. He has called the attention of our community back to the consideration, nay more he has given them a new and higher exposition, of those momentous principles on which our salvation as a nation depends. And the disclosures of the past year have shown, only too plainly, to what a frightful extent these principles have been and are disregarded, or unknown, even in New England.

"If," says Mr. Webster,* "there be any among us, so high, as to be too high for the authority of the law, or so low as to be too low for its regard and protection; or if there be any who by any means whatever, may exempt themselves from its control, then to that extent we have failed to maintain an equal government." Tried by this rule, how glaringly unequal does our government appear! Here at the north, men of "property and standing," are so high, that they may do things with impunity, for which other men would be heavily fined or imprisoned. They may issue murderous handbills to mislead and infuriate the populace. They may wantonly destroy the property, and assault violently the persons of their fellow citizens. And the Government stands by, without making an effort to detect the instigators of the outrage; or to bring to punishment those, who were seen to perpetrate it.† For such offences, ay, for less than these, men of another descrip-

* At the close of his letter to the Anti-masons of Pennsylvania.

† The text does not tell the whole truth. Two of the prominent rioters in Boston, were soon after elected to the Legislature — and one of them was also chosen an overseer or director of the House of Correction, to keep *poor* rogues in order.

tion would have been, without delay, taken into the custody of the guardians of the public peace, and made to feel the stern control of offended justice.

At the South, there are more than *two millions of men* so low, as to be no more regarded or protected by the law, than the domesticated brutes are. More than two millions are there, who may suffer the greatest injuries men can inflict upon each other, and have no redress. Indeed should they dare to approach a Court of Justice, to prefer a complaint, they would be spurned from it by the magistrate, and probably receive some summary punishment for their insolence, in presuming to complain. What nation on earth presents so glaring an example of *unequal government*, as our own, when looked at in the light of Mr. Webster's wisdom.

Such being the condition of our country, surely it is a gain to the cause of freedom and humanity, that Dr. Channing has been called out to write a book, in which on the one hand he vindicates the right of the slave to the prerogatives of a man, and on the other hand, solemnly admonishes the freeman, that he is the subject of law; and that a mobocrat is a usurper and rebel.

A few days after the publication of the above-mentioned book, there appeared a large pamphlet written by a citizen of Boston, entitled, "Remarks upon Dr. Channing's Slavery." We know not who wrote it. We trust the author will never own his work. It was evidently written by one who has neither faith in God, nor faith in man.

Whatever agency we may have had, in creating the occasion and demand for the book, to the review of which we have just devoted several pages, it is but a very small part of what we have been instrumental in effecting, for the relief of our enslaved and degraded countrymen. Millions in this Republic were crying for justice, for mercy, for the inalienable rights of man, for their portion of that bread which comes down from heaven; and their cry was unheeded. The North had conspired with the South against them. The wise and prudent deemed it impolitic to interfere for their relief. The rich, the mighty, the rulers of the people, scowled reproof upon all, who would disturb the established order of things, although under it *millions of human beings were crushed.*

And even the preachers of the Gospel put not forth a finger to break the yoke, or lighten the heavy burden, under which they saw our countrymen oppressed and groaning. But against this array of opposers, we have been enabled to persevere, until we have brought the condition of the enslaved in our land to be *the great concern of our nation.* It is inevitable that it is to occupy the thoughts and feelings of our national Legislature, during their present session, more than any other, or all other topics together.

The review of the past year will leave, no doubt, in the mind of any one, that the subject of slavery is up for the consideration and action of the American people. To bring it thus before them was of course our first object, and, thanks to our opposers, scarcely less than our friends, never was an object more completely attained. It needs no supernatural vision to foresee, that hereafter, slavery will be talked about, and written about, by private individuals, and public men, in the circles of domestic and social life, and in the Halls of Legislation, until it is totally abolished. This result is now inevitable. How soon it will take place, we cannot with certainty predict, but have reason to believe that many here present, may live to see it, and live many years after it.* In what precise manner this result will be accomplished, we are equally unable to foretell; but fondly cherish the hope that it will be a bloodless victory of truth over error, right over wrong, humanity over oppression.

We are aware many apprehend, that the change we propose in the condition of nearly one fifth of our whole population cannot be wrought without a terrible, a sanguinary conflict. But we do not so despair of justice, honor, benevolence, religion. Our hope in

*One of the Boston ministers, as we have been informed by a person who heard him at Thursday Lecture a few weeks ago, in a discourse upon the improved and improving state of our times, uttered the following sentences:—"Slavery too must come to an end. But it may not be in our day. It may not be effected by the discussions and resolutions of a little knot of Abolitionists, or by foreign interference, or by domestic indiscretion." We preserve this as a specimen of the milder tone of doubt, contempt and condemnation, which the preachers of *religion* have adopted towards us. Have they too forgotten that the religion which they now preach to large, and wealthy and fashionable assemblies, under "marble domes and gilded spires," was at first listened to with favor only by a little knot of disposed persons, called Christians, who were persecuted in every city?

these is turned to faith, when we cast our eyes across the Atlantic, and see how great a work, of the same kind we have to do, has been done by the *moral power* of a people speaking the same language, and professing the same religion with ourselves. It is true the work which this nation must perform *in deference to the rights of man*, is much greater than that which England has accomplished. It is true the two classes of our countrymen, whose rights are to be equalized, are situated with relation to each other, and to the rest of the nation, somewhat differently from the parties concerned in the question of slavery under the British Government. This is frequently urged as a reason why we should not look to the success there, as a ground of encouragement to our efforts here. But why? The differences referred to are not essential. They do not affect the principles on which our success depends. The morality of the two cases is precisely the same. And it is worthy to be remembered that precisely the same objections were urged against the procedure of the Abolitionists in England, that are now opposed to us; and very similar obstacles thrown in their way, that are thrown in ours. Then it should be borne in mind, as a circumstance favorable to our enterprise, that the sentiments and feelings of the British nation on this subject, as on every other, cannot fail to be diffused among us, their literature being intimately blended with our own. So that we are contending upon a vantage ground, gained by our trans-Atlantic brethren, who established the claim of the African to be considered in all respects a man — and accumulated much incontestible evidence to prove that it is always *safe*, as well as right, to treat him as a man. Why, then, should we be disheartened, though it appears that our country is to be the theatre of the severest conflict for human rights the world has ever known? We have been so boastful of our devotion to this sacred cause, it is well the depth of that attachment should be proved — the strength of our republican principles fully tried. If we unfeignedly believe those great truths which our nation propounded to the world, we shall brave the controversy, in the highest confidence of success. We shall, we must prevail over all the opposition, that the prejudices, the fears, and the sordid selfishness of men may array against us.

But, however sure of victory, we may not with impunity to our cause, forget for a moment, that this is a spiritual warfare. It is peculiarly incumbent upon us, as far as in us lies, to prevent it from degenerating into a war of passion, and brute force. While on the one hand, we must not suffer obloquy and outrage, and threats of personal violence, to provoke or alarm us to resort to any other weapons than those, which are mighty *through God*, to the pulling down of strong holds; we must not, on the other hand, *unnecessarily* provoke the passions of those, whose awful violations of the first principles of humanity, it is our duty to expose. This exposure, however kindly made, may offend them. If so, the fault is theirs. Such provocation may lead them to repentance. It is this we are aiming to effect. Our object is not to compel the slave-holders by physical force, to emancipate their slaves — but by the force of truth and argument, by appeals to their feelings as men, and their consciences as accountable beings. Now if we would prosecute our endeavors to do the latter, with the hope of success, it is obvious we must convince them that we would not do the former, under any circumstances, nor for any consideration.

Our solemn declaration is before the world, that "we will never in any way countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force." And many of the events of the past year must have convinced unprejudiced minds, that Abolitionists are men of peace. May we abound in this spirit — the spirit of him who, though he denounced sin with *tremendous severity*, yet was gentle unto all men, and as unresisting as a lamb, when seized, mocked, buffeted, and led away to an infamous death with common malefactors — the morally heroic spirit, which will lead us to hope, with our beloved fellow laborer A. E. Grimke, that, if blood is to be spilt in this cause, "it may be ours, instead of the slave-holders' — that our lives may be taken and theirs spared." We wish to do them only good — to redeem themselves from iniquity, no less than their slaves from a cruel bondage. It is not our fault, that they do not, or will not understand, that this is with us a high moral and religious question; that we shall as soon deny our God, and worship idols, as abandon the advocacy

of the rights of man; that we are ready to go to the gibbet or the stake, sooner than forsake the cause of our enslaved countrymen; but that we will not fight for them with carnal weapons. We have often assured, we now again assure the slave-holders in our land, and we beseech them to assure their slaves, that the warfare we have commenced for their deliverance, is to be fought with the sword of truth and of the Spirit. If the slaves resort to violence, they must not look to the Abolitionists for aid. We will contend steadfastly for their rights — we will suffer — if need be we will die for them; but we will not murder, nor be accessory to murder, for their sake. How cruel it is, in our northern and southern opposers, to mislead the slaves, by the gross misrepresentations they give them of our sentiments and purposes! If a servile war should desolate the South, it will be justly attributable not to what *we* have done, or written, or said; but to what our opposers have said, written, and done to excite the fears of the masters, and the false hopes of the slaves. We would emancipate the slaves only by the spirit of repentance in the bosoms of their masters; and procure the abolition of the *system of oppression*, only by the power of a corrected public opinion.

P. S. Since our Annual Meeting, at which the above Report was read, we have seen two passages that have been quoted from publications of the Abolitionists, in order to show that they are insurrectionary: The first is quoted from the Emancipator, in the Indictment of Mr. R. G. Williams of New York, publishing Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, by the Grand Jury of the State of Alabama. "God commands and all nature cries out, that man should not be held as property. The system of making men property has plunged 2,250,000 of our fellow countrymen into the deepest physical and moral degradation, and they are every moment sinking deeper." Upon this we shall not stop to comment; for if this be insurrectionary, then is "the Declaration of Independence" far more so.

The second is quoted, in the postscript to a letter, addressed to the writer of this Report, published in a Danville (Va.) paper. It is from the speech of Gerrit Smith Esq. at Peterboro', Oct. 22d. 1835. "The sword now drawn will not be sheathed till victory, entire victory, is ours or theirs." If our Southern brethren can prove, that any other sword *than that of truth* is now drawn, or is advised to be drawn, by the Abolitionists, then may this one passage avail them something in their attempt to prove, that we intend violence and insurrection. We again confidently refer our countrymen to all our publications. They may find in them some sentences in bad taste — some perhaps in bad temper — but not a word, will they find, in counsel or in countenance of insurrection.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

AT ITS

FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The Fourth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held in Boston on Wednesday, January 20. When we saw the large number of gentlemen from the country, who had come to the meeting as delegates, and friends of this righteous cause, we were filled with shame, that our liberal, liberty-loving, boastful city would not afford them an ample room. All the Churches in Boston, that have ever been let to benevolent associations, had been applied for by the Committee of arrangements and refused: also the several Halls in the city, that were thought to be large enough, and were withheld. We were therefore obliged to receive our friends in our little Hall, 46 Washington street, which must now be considered the only cradle of liberty in this metropolis.

Soon after the hour appointed for the meeting, 10 A. M., the Hall was nearly filled with the delegates from Auxiliary Societies, and when the President called the meeting to order, the assembly was straitened for want of room.

Prayer was offered by Rev. George Storrs of Concord, N. H.

A Committee was then appointed to receive the names of the delegates, and friends who had come to attend the meeting.

Rev. S. J. May, the Corresponding Secretary, then read the fol-

lowing impressive letter, he had just received from William Lloyd Garrison, who was necessarily absent from the city at that time.

BROOKLYN, Ct., Jan. 17, 1836.

REV. SAMUEL J. MAY:

My Dear Friend — My regret in not being able to attend the fourth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, is equal to the intense interest which I feel in its deliberations.

Let me say to the brethren who shall assemble together — BE BOLD FOR GOD. These are times in which we are specially called upon not to count our lives dear unto us — if, living, we are to be slaves ourselves, or to wink at the enslavement of others. Nay, we shall be unworthy of an existence, if we suffer ourselves to be awed into silence by the threats of oppressors. The cause which we advocate is not ours, but GOD'S; and, therefore, I renew the charge — BE BOLD FOR GOD. Nevertheless, it *is* ours to carry forward, instrumentally — but not ours to choose or reject, as we think expedient. Those who call on us to suspend our operations, or to keep silence, or to wait till a more convenient season, or to stop our ears and steel our hearts to the cries of our bleeding countrymen, make application to the wrong source. They ought to beseech the Creator of heaven and earth to release us from our obligations to himself and to mankind; to reverse or repeal all the laws of his moral government; to transform us into stocks and stones; to make the slaves in reality, what they are deemed by human enactments, goods and chattels, implements of husbandry, and four-footed beasts; to ordain that henceforth rebellion shall be loyalty — sin, righteousness — and the cruel despotism of American slave-holders, the glorious liberty of the sons of God! In all rationality, too, they ought to petition the great Lawgiver to repeal every injunction of holy writ like the following: "Thou shalt not steal" — "Thou shalt not covet anything that is thy neighbor's" — "Love thy neighbor as thyself" — "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them" — "Envy thou not the oppressor, and choose none of his ways" — "Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them" — "Undo the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, and break every yoke" — "Deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor" — "Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction." O foolish and insane men! thus to consider obedience to God as something that policy may properly defer, or expediency lawfully annul! By ceasing to be men, shall we be independent of the Almighty? By setting up our authority in opposition to his own, shall we not be destroyed?

So, too, those who think they shall destroy our cause, if they can destroy a few of its prominent advocates — how wild and impious is their delusion! "The battle is the LORD'S" — not ours. Why, then, do they not attempt to scale the battlements of heaven, that they may dethrone Him who is higher than the highest, and thus end the great controversy, not only in this nation, but in all nations — not only at the present period, but through all time? It is true, those battlements are high; but our enemies have "sought out many inventions" — they are skilful, ingenious, adventurous — and, seemingly, confident of victory. It is true, he whom they must encounter and vanquish is "Jehovah of hosts" — "King of kings, and Lord of lords" — "God over all" — "The high and

lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy" — "The Lord Almighty," "who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance" — "all nations before him are as nothing; and they are counted to him less than nothing, and vanity." But our enemies are valiant men — ambitious of great achievements — omnipotent in their own strength — having much property in "slaves and the souls of men" — lifted up above all that is called God! — Ah! proud boasters, do ye grow pale, and shudder, and turn away, in view of such a fearful contest? Do ye remember the fate of Pharaoh and his host? of Babylon, and Tyre, and Sidon? of Sodom and Gomorrah? of an antediluvian world? Truly, ye do well to retreat from the Majesty of Him, at whose presence it is declared, — "The earth shook and trembled; the foundations also of the hills moved and were shaken, *because he was wroth.* There went up a smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured; coals were kindled by it. He bowed the heavens also, and came down; and darkness was under his feet. And he rode upon a cherub, and did fly; yea, he did fly upon the wings of the wind. He made darkness his secret place; his pavilion round about him were dark waters and thick clouds of the skies. He sent out his arrows, and scattered them; and he shot out lightnings, and discomfited them." O ye flagitious oppressors, ye do well to remember that "it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God." But will ye aim at no higher victims than Arthur Tappan, George Thompson, and William Lloyd Garrison? And who and what are they? Three drops from a boundless ocean — three rays from a noon-day sun — three particles of dust floating in a limitless atmosphere — nothing, subtracted from infinite fulness. Should ye succeed in destroying them, the mighty difficulty still remains. Still He liveth who saith, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay." Still he reigneth, who executeth righteousness and judgment for all that are oppressed. Still He is faithful who declares, "For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him." Still He is omnipotent who proclaims, "Therefore, thus saith the Lord; ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor; behold I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine. O, then, destroy not yourselves nor your country; but take from the midst of you the yoke, the putting forth of the finger, and speaking vanity; and draw out your souls to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul; bring the poor that are cast out to your house, and cover their nakedness, and hide not yourselves from your own flesh; then shall your light rise in obscurity, and your darkness be as the noon-day. And they that shall be of you shall build the old waste places; ye shall raise up the foundation of many generations; and ye shall be called, the repairers of the breach, the restorers of paths to dwell in. "For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

It is indeed a mighty conflict, my dear brother, through which we are called to pass, and we shall assuredly be overcome, unless we are sustained by the energy of a divine love, and impressed with a fear of God that shall make all other fears contemptible. Remember that, but a little while since, we had to commence the work of converting the entire nation, (so thoroughly had slavery corrupted it,) beginning at Boston, as did the apostles at Jerusalem. Surprisingly has the

truth made progress, and multitudinous are the converts to it. Still, though much has been done, more remains to be accomplished. The church is yet stained with 'the blood of the souls of the poor innocents' — it is yet the hiding place and sanctuary of the ruthless monster that feeds on human flesh, and battens upon human agony and degradation. The decidedly pro-slavery tone of a large majority of our newspapers; the numerous public meetings that have been held in all the free States, unanimously coinciding with the corrupt sentiments of the South; the slavish language uttered in every hall of legislation; the despotic recommendations of certain Governors in their recent messages, particularly of Gov. Marcy of New-York; the indifference, nay, the positive approbation with which propositions are received by the people, to destroy liberty of speech and of the press, and annul the right of petitioning government, that protection and perpetuity may be given to slavery; the attitude assumed in Congress, by northern and southern representatives, respecting the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia; the sanction given to the robbery and censorship of the mail; the impunity with which some of our northern citizens, convicted of no crime, have been seized at the south, and without a legal trial, publicly lacerated, or cast into prison, or ignominiously put to death; the rewards offered by the south for the abduction of certain freemen of the north; the demand of southern executives upon our own, to deliver over the same individuals to a murderous fate; the proposition of the south to the north, to imprison, or put to death 'without benefit of clergy,' all of us who shall dare to hint that slavery is inconsistent with humanity, justice and religion, or who refuse to subscribe to the monstrous dogma, that 'domestic slavery is the corner-stone of our republican edifice;' the countenance which is given to mobs against the friends of emancipation, by men of high standing, both in Church and State; the impious justification of slavery, by the southern clergy and churches; the general insensibility or perverseness of religious newspapers and periodicals; the unanimous declaration of southern oppressors, that they will never consent to the emancipation of their slaves, either immediately, or ultimately, either for union or money, either for God or man; the dangers and difficulties which attend all our public attempts to plead the cause of our fettered, bleeding, guiltless countrymen; the brand of fanaticism, or treason, or robbery, which is put upon all the commandments and precepts of the Bible, and upon the plainest maxims of republicanism; — these and other indications of the ferocious attachment of the people to the system of slavery, and to the company of slave-holders, portend that we are engaged in one of the mightiest moral struggles, which the world has ever witnessed, and show how necessary it is that we should all have the endurance of the man of Uz, the faith of Gideon, the meekness of Moses, and the intrepidity of the youthful David.

But I must pause. Brethren, 'cease from man;' beware of a worldly policy: do not compromise principle; fasten yourselves to the throne of God: and lean upon the arm of Omnipotence. Let your doings be characterized by the loftiness of christian independence, and by the compassion of the Son of God. In your prayers, your resolutions, your speeches, make mention of our brethren, George Thompson and Charles Stuart, and of all our brethren in England; and, above all things, fail not now and at all times to BE BOLD FOR GOD.

Yours, with brotherly affection,

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

On motion of Rev. H. C. Wright, seconded by C. P. Grosvenor, it was voted 'that the excellent letter just read from Mr. Garrison, be published with the other proceedings of this annual meeting.'

Rev. Luther Wright, Dr. A. Farnsworth, Jesse Putnam, Esq. Dexter Fairbank, and Rev. Mr. Goodyear, were appointed a committee to nominate a list of Officers for the ensuing year.

Mr. May then read the Report of the Board of Managers, and it was voted that it be accepted and published, under the supervision of the following Committee — S. J. May, H. C. Wright, C. P. Grosvenor, Wm. Goodell, J. G. Whittier, E. Demond. The reading of the Report, elicited some very spirited remarks on a variety of topics, from sundry gentlemen — Messrs. Wright, Grosvenor, Goodell, Russell, Morse, and others.

A motion was now made to adjourn, upon which the Standing Committee of 'the Free Church' offered to the Society the use of their Hall, corner of Milk and Congress Streets, for their afternoon session. Adjourned to meet at that place at half past 2.

The Afternoon meeting was called to order at 3. Prayer was offered by Rev. Orange Scott of Holliston.

Rev. Luther Wright of Woburn, Chairman of the Committee on Nomination, reported the list of officers, for the ensuing year. The gentleman named were then elected by a general ticket.

President.

JOSEPH SOUTHWICK, *Boston.*

Vice Presidents.

Rev. E. M. P. Wells, *Boston.*
Rev. Moses Thacher, *North Wrentham.*
Dr. Charles Follen, *Milton.*
Francis Jackson, *Boston.*
William Lloyd Garrison, *Boston.*
Rev. Gardner B. Perry, *Bradford.*
Rev. Orange Scott, *Holliston.*
Rev Jacob Ide, *Medway.*
John G. Whittier, *Haverhill.*
William Oakes, *Ipswich.*
Isaac Winslow, *Danvers.*
Rev. Henry C. Wright, *Boston.*
Rev. C. P. Grosvenor, *Salem.*
Dr. Theophilus Packard, *Shelburne.*
Rev. Mason Ball, *Amherst*
Gen. Asa Howland, *Conway.*
Rev. George Goodyear, *Ashburnham.*
Effingham L. Capron, *Uxbridge.*
Dr. Amos Farnsworth, *Groton.*
George Russell, *Kingston.*

—

Samuel J. May, *Cor. Secretary.*
Henry E. Benson, *Rec. Secretary.*
Henry G. Chapman, *Treasurer.*
Samuel E. Sewall, *Auditor.*

Counsellors.

Ellis Gray Loring,
Drury Fairbanks,
Isaac Knapp,
Simon G. Shipley,
John R. Cambell,
Abner Forbes.
John T. Hilton,
John E. Fuller.
C. C. Barry.
John S. Kimball.

On motion of Mr. May, Rev. Amos A. Phelps and David L. Child, Esq. were elected honorary members of the Society.

Rev. H. C. Wright offered a Resolution, which called up an animated debate between the mover, and C. P. Grosvenor, in which several other gentlemen also took part. The resolution was laid upon the table. The Society adjourned to meet again at six o'clock.

The Society met again according to adjournment at Congress Hall, which was filled with friends of both sexes. The President called to order at half past six.

Rev. Mr. Duncan, of Hanover, offered prayer.

The resolution, which had been discussed in the afternoon, was called up, and again laid on the table.

Rev. Professor Follen offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That we consider the Anti-Slavery cause as the cause of Philanthropy, with regard to which all human beings, white men and colored men, citizens and foreigners, men and women, have the same duties and the same rights.

Professor Follen introduced the resolution, which he offered to the meeting, with some remarks on various topics, which he said he should wish to discuss more fully, but on which, for want of time, he was able to bestow only a passing notice. He wished to be able to speak at large on the causes and the character of the *anti-abolition* mobs, which, through the influence of those who excited them, were more generally known amongst us by the slanderous name of "anti-slavery mobs." Some notice, it seems, ought to be taken of the remarkable power of prophecy, displayed by many of the organs of public opinion, in foretelling these fearful convulsions of the moral fabric of society. These successful enchanters of the public mind have, in this instance, equalled, nay, they have surpassed all other prophets before them. For they not only prophesied the things which have since been fulfilled, but what is more remarkable, they themselves have fulfilled their prophecies. And what they had thus foretold and brought to pass, they also defended and justified by an original mode of reasoning, which certainly deserves as much credit for its truth as for its honesty — and which, if carried out consistently, would reverse our whole system of laws and of morals. Anti-abolition mobs, and the impunity of their authors, have been justified by our newspapers, ay, by men of high standing in society, by a mode of reasoning, according to which we ought to condemn and send to prison, not the thief and the cheat, but the man of property who has been robbed or defrauded. There is, indeed, no denying that if there were no abolitionists daring to express their sentiments, there would be no such mobs. Can it be denied, then, that the abolitionists are tempting and provoking the people to acts of violence, that they are the true authors of these mobs, and that their ordinary plea, that all their doings are strictly within their constitutional right, to speak, to print, and peaceably to assemble, is merely a plausible pretext to cover their disorganizing designs? The abolitionists are the authors of these mobs, they tempt and provoke the people to violence, as truly as the man of property tempts and provokes the thief, and is, therefore, the true author of the theft, and ought to be sent to prison. For the plea that his property is guaranteed to him by the law, is a mere pretence contrived to secure to him an unfair advantage over his neighbor. Such

are the arguments by which the enemies of freedom, the prophets, the perpetrators, and the advocates of mobs, amongst us, have outlawed law, and outreasoned reason. But I leave this, and other topics of a more limited nature, in order to present the following resolution :

Resolved, that we consider the Anti-Slavery cause as the cause of philanthropy, with regard to which all human beings, white men and colored men, citizens and foreigners, men and women, have the same duties and the same rights.

Philanthropy means the love of man ; and the love of man is the true and only foundation of the Anti-Slavery cause. Our whole creed is summed up in this single position, that the slave is a man, created by God in his own image, and, therefore, by divine right, a freeman. The slave is a man, and we are men ; this is the only needful and all-sufficient title, from which every Anti-Slavery Society, and every abolitionist derive their duties and their rights. Every human being, whether colored or white, foreigner or citizen, man or woman, is, in virtue of a common nature, a rightful and responsible defender of the natural rights of all. These are the sentiments of every abolitionist ; these the principles of the Declaration of Independence, which was intended to make this whole nation one great Anti-Slavery Society.

Professor F. observed, that these self-evident truths had been opposed in full, by the consistent enemies of human freedom, and obstructed in detail, by its inconsistent friends.

In the first place, we have been advised, if we really wished to benefit the slave and the colored race generally, not unnecessarily to shock the feelings, though they were but prejudices, of the white people, by admitting colored persons to our Anti-Slavery meetings and societies. We have been told that many who would otherwise act in union with us, were kept away by our disregard of the feelings of the community in this respect.

Grant the fact, that this piece of bad policy in us keeps away many who would otherwise be with us at this time, in this hall, or in some other more spacious room, which their personal influence might open to our holy cause, which still has to go begging from the door of one Christian church to another, without finding admission. But what, I would ask, is the great, the single object of all our meetings and societies? Have we any other object than to impress upon the community this one principle, that *the colored man is a* MAN? and, on the other hand, is not the prejudice, which would have us exclude colored people from our meetings and societies here, the same which, in the Southern States, dooms them to perpetual bondage? It needs no long argument, then, to prove that by excluding the colored people from our Anti-Slavery proceedings, we should not only deprive ourselves of many faithful fellow-laborers, but by complying with that inhuman prejudice, we should sanction and support the first principles of slavery, as well as give the lie to our own most solemn professions. In our private intercourse, in our personal and domestic relations, let every one choose his company according to his own principles, or his own whims. But as for any meetings and associations designed for the establishment of *human rights* — how can we have the effrontery to expect the white slaveholder of the South to live on terms of civil equality with his colored slave, if we, the white abolitionists of the North, will not admit colored freemen as members of our Anti-Slavery Societies?

This may be sufficient to vindicate the first part of my resolution, claiming for

colored men and white men that essential equality of rights and duties with regard to the Anti-Slavery cause, which should lead to united action.

In the second place, I assert, that with regard to this cause, foreigners and citizens have the same duties and the same rights.

Professor F. observed, that in defending this clause in his resolution, he felt, or rather he had been made to feel as if he was, in part, speaking in self-defence. For though he had come to this country for no other reason than to live under the government of equal laws, which were not to be found in Europe ; and though for eleven years he had sustained the duties, and during five years possessed all the rights of the citizens of this Republic, his devotion to the Anti-Slavery cause had been condemned both in private and in public, on the grave and undeniable charge of his having been born in a foreign land. His active interest in this cause had become more extensively known by the 'Address to the people of the United States' which he, as the Chairman of a Committee appointed for this purpose, by the New-England Anti-Slavery Convention of 1834, had been called upon to draw up, and which, according to a vote of the Board of Managers, had been sent to every member of Congress. A copy of this address had been returned to him by an unknown hand, with the words, 'A foreigner should recollect the protection afforded him by the Institutions of this country, when he undertakes to cast a firebrand among the people, by which they may be destroyed.' Similar ingenious substitutes for argument, being rendered more striking by studied vulgarity, had appeared in some of our newspapers. For himself, he had nothing to offer to the distinguished few, who had, notwithstanding his rightful citizenship, insisted upon treating him as a foreigner, unless it be the plea which had been entered for him by a generous friend, that 'though not a son of the pilgrims, he was himself a pilgrim.'

I should have passed over, in silence, these petty vexations, as solitary exceptions to the uniform experience of generous confidence and kindness, which I have never ceased to enjoy in this community, if it were not for the great principle involved in these disagreeable trifles.

Our cause is the cause of man; therefore, our watchword from the beginning has been, 'Our country is the world — our countrymen all mankind.' We reverence patriotism as a virtue, so far as it is philanthropy applied to our own country, while we look down upon it as a vice, so far as it would sacrifice the rights of man — the moral to the selfish interests of our nation. The Anti-Slavery cause, then, being the cause of man, knows no difference between natives and foreigners. Nay, more, we have here amongst us large numbers of natives of this country, without a shadow of right, deprived of the fruits of their labor, stript of the sacred rights of husbands and wives, parents and children, citizens and christians, we see them daily driven out to merciless toil, sold like beasts, imprisoned, lacerated, and degraded without redress. Now when we see many millions of our countrymen, yea, the priests and the rulers of the people, going on in their own course of prosperity, and, without pity, passing by an innocent brother, stripped of everything and wounded in soul and body ; and perchance there should be journeying this way a foreigner who should have compassion on him and try to lift him up, and pour into his wounds the oil of consolation and the wine of hope, or from the rich treasury of his heart, should pour out the pure gold of sterling truth to redeem him from bondage — which of these, I ask, would be a neighbor to him who had been robbed and wounded? And shall we, the favored citizens,

on beholding such signal kindness, cry out with the Jews of old, 'He is a Samaritan, and has a devil?' — or with our modern, national bigots — 'He is a foreignor; an English emissary; mob him! tar and feather him!!'

We look upon the foreignor, who holds up before us the law of liberty, proclaimed in our Declaration of Independence, in opposition to the law of servitude, imposed and enforced by our free institutions upon one sixth of our population, as a true friend; and we see, in his open rebuke, the surest pledge of confidence in our love of truth and sense of justice. On the other hand, the violent attempts at preventing the free expression of sentiment on this great moral subject, by strangers or citizens — the lawless, shameless, and merciless proceedings against all who are convicted or suspected of nothing worse than a consistent adherence to the first principles of the Declaration of Independence, seem to us more criminal, when perpetrated or tolerated in this country, than in any other, simply because we have 'pledged our property, our lives, and our sacred honor,' to the support of the equal rights of all. Our Constitution has secured a government of law, freedom of conscience, the liberty of speaking and printing, to every citizen, nay, to every stranger sojourning amongst us. As citizens of the world, as members of the human family, as christians, we look upon every one as a fellow-citizen, as a neighbor, who defends the rights and respects the feelings of all men; while he who does not see in every human being an equal and a brother, whether he be born here or elsewhere, he alone is regarded by us as a stranger and an enemy.

And now, Mr. President, I come to the last topic of my resolution. I maintain, that, with regard to the Anti-Slavery cause, *men* and *women* have the same duties and the same rights. The ground I take on this point is very plain. I wish to spare you, I wish to spare myself the worthless and disgusting task of replying, in detail, to all the coarse attacks and flattering sophisms, by which men have endeavored to entice or to drive women from this, and from many other spheres of moral action. 'Go home and spin!' is the well meaning advice of the domestic tyrant of the old school. 'Conquer by personal charms and fashionable attractions!' is the brilliant career marked out for her by the idols and the idolaters of fashion. 'Never step out of the bounds of decorum and the *customary* ways of doing good,' is the sage advice of maternal caution. 'Rule by obedience, and by submission sway!' is the golden saying of the moralist poet, sanctioning female servitude, and pointing out a resort and compensation in female cunning. What with the fear of the insolent remarks about women, in which those of the dominant sex, whose bravery is the generous offspring of conscious impunity, are particularly apt to indulge; and with the still stronger fear of being thought unfeminine — it is, indeed, a proof of uncommon moral courage, or of an overpowering sense of religious duty and sympathy with the oppressed, that a woman is induced to embrace the unpopular, unfashionable, obnoxious principles of the abolitionists. Popular opinion, the habits of society, are all calculated to lead women to consider the place, the privileges and the duties which etiquette has assigned to them, as their peculiar portion, as more important than those which nature has given them in common with men. Men have at all times been inclined to allow to women peculiar privileges, while withholding from them essential rights. In the progress of civilization and christianity, one right after another has been conceded, one occupation after another has been placed within the reach of women. Still are we far from a practical acknowledgment of the simple truth, that the rational and moral nature of man is the foundation of all

rights and duties, and that women as well as men are rational and moral beings. It is on this account that I look upon the formation of Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies as an event of the highest interest, not only for its direct beneficial bearing on the cause of emancipation, but still more as an indication of the moral growth of society. Women begin to feel that the place, which men have marked out for them, is but a small part of what society owes to them, and what they themselves owe to society, to the whole human family, and to that Power to whom each and all are indebted and accountable, for the use of the powers entrusted to them. It is, indeed, a consoling thought, that such is the providential adaptation of all things, that the toil and the sufferings of the slave, however unprofitable to himself, and however hopeless, are not wholly thrown away and vain — that the master who has deprived him of the fruits of his industry, of every motive and opportunity for exercising his highest faculties, has not been able to prevent his exercising, unconsciously, a moral and spiritual influence all over the world, breaking down every unnatural restraint, and calling forth the simplest and deepest of all human emotions, the feeling of man for his fellow man, and bringing out the strongest intellectual and moral powers to his rescue. It is, indeed, natural that the cry of misery, the call for help, that is now spreading far and wide, and penetrating the inmost recesses of society, should thrill, with peculiar power, through the heart of woman. For it is woman, injured, insulted woman, that exhibits the most baneful and hateful influences of slavery. But I cannot speak of what the free woman ought and must feel for her enslaved sister — because I am overwhelmed by the thought of what we men, we, who have mothers, and wives, and daughters, should not only feel but do, and dare, and sacrifice, to drain the marshes whose exhalations infect the moral atmosphere of society.

The remarks I have made in support of my resolution, may be summed up in a few words. The only object of the Anti-Slavery Societies, is to restore the slave to his natural rights. To promote this object, all human beings, white men and colored men, citizens and foreigners, men and women, have the same moral calling, simply because in virtue of a common rational and moral nature, all human beings are in duty bound, and divinely authorized, to defend their own and each others' *natural rights.*

Our rights, our duties, with regard to the oppressed, require and authorize the use of all lawful and moral means, to accomplish the great object of deliverance. As members of this Union, we are debarred all direct political influence with regard to the legal existence of slavery in other States. But slavery in the District of Colombia, and in the Territories, as well as the internal slave trade, are evils within the reach of our Federal Legislature, and, consequently, within the control and responsibility of every citizen of the Union.

The guilt of the existence of slavery within the bounds of the Federal legislation, rests upon every citizen who is not exerting himself to the utmost, by free discussion and petitions to Congress, that this cruel and disgraceful inconsistency may be removed. But the sphere of moral action is not confined within the limits of our political rights. The North is connected with the South by numerous relations, which may be made so many channels of influence on the minds and consciences of the slaveholders. There are family connections, commercial relations, political and religious interests, by which individuals of different States are brought in contact, and a continual intercourse is thus kept up between the free North and the slaveholding South. With all these means of private inter-

course within our reach, we require no alteration in the Constitution, we demand no especial aid from Congress or from any State Legislature, to induce the slave-holders, by moral motives and by considerations of enlightened self-interest, to rid themselves of this great evil. We require of Government nothing but to be protected in the exercise of one undoubted constitutional right, a right which, as Gerrit Smith justly observes, has a deeper foundation than the Constitution, which solemnly secures it, being grounded on the nature of man and the sovereign decree of his Creator. Let us dismiss all controversy concerning the exciting question, whether, or how far the Constitution sanctions slavery, but let us assert and defend the freedom of communication by speaking, writing, and printing, which is the first requisite of the freeman and the last hope of the slave. Slavery and free discussion, Sir, it is well known, cannot live together. They will quarrel until one of them quits the neighborhood.

We claim freedom of communication with the slave-holder of the South, as well as with the advocates of slavery, and those who think themselves justified in their neutrality at the North. We contend with a national prejudice; we aim at a national reform. Every individual, who is free from the long cherished and deep rooted prejudice, which prevents the white men of the North, as well as those of the South, from looking upon the colored man as a man and a brother, is in duty bound to become a fellow-laborer in this work of reform. For this reason, our societies are founded, not on the exclusive principle of election, but on the broad, philanthropic ground of free admission; we elect no one, but cordially receive every one who may elect himself. Our audiences do not consist of select companies; but as the Report, which you have accepted, eloquently sets forth, in humble imitation of Jesus and the Apostles, we address all who have ears to hear and will hear.

We are told we must not agitate this subject — let it alone, and it will remedy itself. This is not the course of Providence. Such reformations are never accomplished without human means. God will not indulge us in our indolence, and do the work without our instrumentality.

The Declaration of Independence, so far as those in bonds are concerned, is a dead letter; and we must not rest from our labors until it is raised from the dead.

William Goodell of Providence, introduced the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That while some men may with impunity *commit* crimes, which others may not boldly *reprove*, without violating the fastidious decorum of the age, we commend our brother, William Lloyd Garrison, and the Liberator, to the hearts of all who love the Gospel of peace and good will to men.

Mr. President:—

I wish, Sir, the adoption of this Resolution because it embodies, by implication, an important *principle*, and because it reduces that principle *to practice*. — Abolitionists believe in no abstract principles, which ought not to be made practical. Such principles are not true; and no man can utter a more self-condemnatory sentence than to say — 'I agree in the principle but do not think it expedient to act in conformity with it.' — This is only saying 'I know what is right, but am determined to do wrong!'

The first sentiment involved in the Resolution may be expressed thus: —

The fastidious decorum of the age shelters vice from deserved and necessary rebuke.

I need spend no time before this audience, to prove the *fact*. Nor need I go through a course of argument to convince you that such a state of things *ought not* to exist. *It is a false and sinful decorum that forbids the Scriptural reproof of sin.* This principle is too evident to require elucidation. I shall content myself with a few specifications of this false decorum, in some of its more common and modern forms.

1. "*It is wrong to be censorious!*"—Is it?—Who says so?—What is it to be censorious?

He is censorious, I suppose, who *censures*. This is certainly the primary meaning of the term; and it is plain that those who censure censoriousness so bitterly, now-a-days, apply their strictures to every censure against themselves and their friends. Is it wrong, then, to *censure?* The answer, I should suppose, would depend upon whether the censures were needed and deserved!—But no! Modern decorum forbids any scrutiny in the case. It is wrong to censure, and so the matter is ended without any inquiry into the righteousness or wisdom of the censure. How exceedingly convenient! Are there no censures in the Scriptures?

I know the word '*censorious*' has acquired a secondary meaning. A man may be justly blamed as censorious when his censures are unjust, unnecessary, or uttered with malignant feelings. But modern decorum censoriously condemns every man who censures *vice*, without instituting any of these perplexing inquiries. To censure *virtue* is by no means so dangerous or imprudent an experiment.

2. "*It is wrong to impeach men's motives.*" So says the oracle of fastidious decorum! Ah! Is it? Then, of course, it is wrong to reprove men's *sins;* for there is no sin without wicked and selfish motives. What broader shelter can Sin desire than this? Only imagine a Nathan reproving his monarch, with a very courtly disclaimer of impeaching his motives!—Listen to the meek and lowly Saviour—"Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites." Did he disclaim an impeachment of their motives?—Take a lesson from the courteous Apostle—'Thou child of the Devil! Thou enemy of all righteousness.' But 'pray do not understand me, good Mr. Simon Magus, as impeaching any gentleman's motives!' What would you think of such an Apostle?

3. "*He betrays an unchristian spirit.*" So says modern decorum, whenever any one manifests any moral indignation against oppression and crime!—Our old fashioned Divines used to tell us of a *holy* and an *unholy* indignation. Modern decorum has rendered the distinction obsolete; except, perhaps, when "gentlemen of property and standing" give demonstrations of their wrath against the reprovers of sin!

Go, ye fastidious ones, and learn what this meaneth. 'God is angry with the wicked every day.' 'Be ye therefore followers of God as dear children.' 'I beheld the transgressors and was grieved.' 'Do I not hate them that hate thee?' 'Ye that fear the Lord hate evil.' 'Be angry and sin not.' 'Jesus looked round upon them *with anger*, being grieved at the hardness of their hearts.' The courtly Caiaphas perhaps might have thought he manifested an *unchristian spirit!*

4. But the most attractive and subtle form of this modern decorum is found

in the very acute and philosophical distinction which *separates the sinner from his sin*; the actor from the action. The guardians of our Churches, a few years ago were valiant in combatting the ingenious theory, which talked of *punishing* the sin without touching a hair on the head of the sinner! But the greater part of them have since made wonderful proficiency in the same school, and have left their polemic tutors altogether in the back ground! Our most strenuous 'contenders for the faith!—at least a large portion of them—to save the risk of *punishing* the sin as it alights from the back of the sinner, have fairly made the discovery that *sin exists* WITHOUT *any sinner at all!* Oh, yes! There is *theft* without a *thief!*—*Robbery* without a *robber!*—Instead of saying, as in olden time—'Thou art the *man*,' we must *now* say, 'thou art the *sin*—No! Not the sin! The mistake, the '*calamity!*'—Instead of saying, "*By their fruits shall ye know* THEM," we should rather say—"By the fruits ye shall *not* know whether the tree be good or evil, or whether there be any tree at all!"

It is humiliating to find so splendid, and in many respects, so admirable a work as that of Dr. Channing, despoiled of its beauty, and rifled of its power by so miserable a fallacy. Many of our friends, I am aware, have criticized the other errors of the book, without seeming to have detected this primary source of them all. Nay—in some instances, while seeming almost to swallow the gilded hook themselves. Dr. Channing takes many exceptions to our statements and measures. But it would be easy to show that every one of them originates in this fallacy. Yes! If Dr. Channing could only be persuaded to say that he who commits robbery is a robber, and that he who steals is a thief, he would become, not almost, but altogether, such an Abolitionist as ourselves. 'Little children, let no man deceive you' by this fanciful separation of the actor from the action.—'He that *doeth* righteousness *is* righteous.' But 'he that committeth sin is of the Evil One.'

It is said in support of this theory that men sin without knowing it. I grant that the sin of comparative ignorance is, comparatively speaking, winked at. I grant that the guilt of transgression may be in proportion to the light resisted. But I deny that men, and especially Christians, can commit robbery all their lives long, without knowing it. If I believed it I should believe that they have no consciences to be reached. I should give them up in despair. But what mean, Sir, those loaded pistols, under the pillow? What mean those nightly patrols? those vigilance Committees? these threats of violence and blood? They prove, Sir, the oppressor is a *man*, with the conscience of a man, and not the mere animal his apologist would make him, less capable of moral culture than the slave!

I protest, Sir, against this casuistry, because it disarms the truth of its native power. Let facts be consulted on this point. I can give you one incident, Sir, deserving a place among the experiments, which ought to be made and registered preparatory to that inductive moral philosophy, which should have found, ere this, a place among the Sciences. I know of the man, Sir, remotely connected with slave-holding, who commenced the reading of Channing with intense interest. Nothing before had succeeded in riveting his attention. His high esteem for Dr. Channing forbade him to pass his book unread. The Chapters on "Property" and on "Rights" were full of arrows which went through his soul. As he read the "Evils of Slavery" his spirit withered. In one of the coldest days in Jan-

nary he sought repeatedly the doors and windows for the fresh air, and resumed his reading with a pale cheek. But mark, Sir. When he came to the Chapter of "Explanations" and learned how the sinner could be divorced from his sin, or rather, how there could be robbery without a robber, his color came again. He concluded his Southern friends were in a less dangerous and guilty condition than he had supposed. He made himself quiet, and the last state of that man is worse than the first.

This is the practical effect Sir, of the fastidious decorum of which I have been speaking. A decorum which reconciles the Church to a carcass of rottenness, which binds the earth in the strong bands of sin, and bids her lie steeped in human blood. This is the decorum which so beseechingly invites the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause to cut adrift from the censorious, the vituperative, and exceedingly indecorous and ungentlemanly WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

I stand not here, Mr. President, as the apologist, or as the eulogist of any man, and certainly it does not appear to me that the fair fame of our friend Garrison requires either eulogy or apology at my hands. Another generation of men, not ours, will write his epitaph, and whether it be written or not, matters little to him or to us. But the work, Sir, in which we are engaged, requires us to estimate correctly the instruments with which we are laboring, and the laborers with whom we associate. And I wish, Sir, to say that the *Liberator* and *William Lloyd Garrison* are auxiliaries, which the cause cannot spare and of whose aid we should be wise, more effectually and more extensively to avail ourselves. I say not that they are faultless. I know of no faultless human instruments. But I do say that by far the greater part of the complaints urged against them would never have been uttered by a Bunyan, a Baxter, or a Paul — would never have been conceived, but for the fastidious decorum of this age of hypocrisy and crime.

My mind runs back, Sir, to nearly seven years ago, when I used to walk with our friend Garrison across yonder Common, and to converse on the great enterprize for which we are now met. The work, then, was all *future*. It existed only in the ardent prayer and the fixed resolves. How rapid and wonderful have been the developments of the last seven years! They flit before me like a confused shadow. But I have a distinct impression of the course of William Lloyd Garrison. Never, for a moment, amid the smoke and dust of the battle has his path been obscured or dubious. Whoever else has half wavered or faultered, it was not he. Whoever else has, for a moment, mistaken the standard of darkness for the banner of light, it was not he. Whoever else has unwarily pointed our pursuing legions to the wrong track, it has seldom, if ever, been he.

I said, Sir, the cause needed the 'Liberator' of Mr. Garrison. Yet I appreciate the advantages to be derived from the circulation of periodicals emanating from an official source, speaking in the name of the great National Society, and moving with dignified and solemn pace. They can be prepared with deliberation, they can be guarded by joint counsel. They can be confidingly circulated by many, perhaps *among* many, with whom the work of a lone individual would find less favor. I rejoice that our cause is supplied with these aids. But I know too, the mighty power of the individual as he stands braced in his self-collected strength, fresh from the mount of communion, and asking counsel only of his God. The eloquent Channing has not overdrawn the picture. *We* know, Mr. President, if *he* did not, where we may place our eyes on the *original* of that picture, or one who justly may claim the portrait; and I trust we shall show by

our manner of using the power of affiliated association, that it can be wielded without the destruction of personal identy or the annihilation of indivdual independence and energy.

The task of *such* an Editor, Mr. President, is an arduous and a thankless one. He must shield his friends by movements, for which they will be sure to censure him. He must save the cause by the very blows, from which the apparently judicious will anticipate its annihilation. He must stand on an eminence from whence he can see what other men cannot see; he must be eyes to the blind, whose want of eye-sight will lead them to make war upon their benefactor. He must rouse men from their dangerous sleep, who, while they begin to see men as trees walking, will murmur because they are waked, and instead of thanking their deliverer, find fault with the rudeness that disturbed them, and assume to give directions, when they should be beginning to learn. To such an Editor, defeat is disgrace as well as discomfiture; and the anticipation of success is the anticipation of the period when *he* must be forgotten, and the triumph be led forward by more popular and courtly leaders.

Alone on his watch tower he must survey the whole field of the conflict with a glance that comprehends the universe — yet he is expected to explore every corner of it with the precision that would analyze a mole-hill! As the countless forms of deception and sin play around him, he must adjust his blow and poise his aim. If he strikes one moment too soon, he strikes the empty space to which his adversary has not quite arrived. If a moment too late, the Demon has passed on, and seized its prey, or has ascended perchance, the sacred desk, transformed to an angel of light! He must strike with his whole strength, or he will fail of thorough execution. The blow must be levelled with the accuracy that would dissect a feather, or the monster will be missed; or else — alas! alas! what is *far* worse, some good man, yes! some surpassingly good man will be making dolefully wry faces on account of his poor toes or fingers, which were, very *innocently* and "*prudently*" concealed beneath the snaky folds!

I said, Mr. President, the Liberator should be supported. But what is support? Let me tell you, Sir, what it is not. I have had some experience in these matters. The support of a paper is *not* to subscribe and never think of paying till some one *calls* for the money, at an expense of collection amounting to more than the profits. It is not to tax a publisher with postage which should be paid by the subscriber.

The adequate support of a paper devoted to the work of *reform* can never be found in its subscription list. Men do not pay away money for the means of changing their own opinions, still less, for the reproof of their own sins. Experience teaches that Temperance papers must be supported, as a tract circulation is supported, by the gratuities of the friends of the cause. The "Emancipator" and "Human Rights" are now circulated in this way, and I see no reason why the Liberator should not be circulated in the same manner. Its being published by an individual instead of a Society should make no difference, for it is not published for private emolument. At least 2,500 dollars should be raised the present year for this purpose. And 300 dollars I am persuaded, can be raised in Rhode Island.

The exigencies of our country, Mr. President, if I mistake not, require a vast increase of effort, immediate, vigorous effort, if she is to be saved from destruction. I know it is common to praise our great achievments and anticipate our glorious

prospects. But I have never learned to do it, and therefore cannot be a popular anniversary speaker. Mr. President, I cannot read the tokens of our rising greatness. I do not thus decypher the signs of the passing times. I see, and rejoice to see the progress of our Bible, Tract, and Missionary Societies, our Sunday Schools, our Temperance, and Peace, and Moral Reform, and Anti-Slavery efforts. Had it not been for these, we should have been shipwrecked long ago. And yet, for five and twenty years, Mr. President, have I watched with aching heart and anxious eye, the retrograde movement of our republic. — Yes! Retrograde! What? amid all our glorious institutions and cheering reforms? — Yes, sir! Retrograde! Do not the Secretaries of the Mission, Tract, and Education Boards assure us that the increase of population is outrunning the increase of evangelical instruction? That the march of the *man of sin* is unchecked? Do not our records of increasing crimes assure us, that vice and heathenism are gaining ground? And, Mr. President, when the words of Washington, of Jefferson, of Franklin, of Rush, and of Pinckney, cannot be repeated without the cry of "fanaticism," and the threat of disunion and blood; when Faneuil Hall becomes the cradle of slavery, are we not admonished sir, that Liberty, as well as intelligence and virtue, are on the wane.

But how is this? methinks I hear some one inquiring! — How is it that we can be going *backwards*, with all this rapid and visible movement *onwards*? Do we not see the improvements that are making every day? Do we not mark the progress that is making, week by week? How is all this?

I will tell you how it is, Mr. President. It is as when the stately ship cuts through the water, at the rate of four miles an hour, while the under current is carrying the whole body of the ocean, ship and all, backwards, six miles an hour!

Mr. President, were you ever entering the straits of Malacca, eastward bound, towards the close of the south-west Monsoon, just as it was dying away, to be succeeded by a six months' blast from the north-east — dead ahead?

I have, Sir, and well do I remember that intense anxiety and peril. How anxiously did we watch the lingering winds! How sedulously spread the flowing sail! How solicitously mark our progress through the rippling waves! When the customary time had elapsed, we began to look out for the high mountains of Queda ahead, when hark! the man aloft cries out "Land ho!!" From the quarter deck comes the instant response — "Where-away?" (i. e. in what direction?) "Astern, Sir!" — "Astern?" — "Ay, Sir, Astern! Directly over the larboard quarter." — "What land can there be in that direction? — Hand up the chart." A moment's glance decides the mystery. It is the Nicobar Islands, and with all our cheering progress through the water, instead of having crossed the Straits of Malacca, we had been drifting back into the bay of Bengal! The coral reefs were but a little distance from us, where many a gallant bark had laid her bones. The favorable monsoon was whispering its last sighs. Our passage through the straits must be speedily secured, or our best resort was a six months anchorage ground, or a circuitous voyage through the Southern and Pacific Oceans — twenty thousand miles instead of five hundred, to the port of our destination!

Such, Sir, is the precise condition of our ship of state, our bark of moral reform, when our wise pilots are exclaiming — "Too fast! Take care! You are going too fast!"

Too fast? Mr. President. Unless we can go faster than we have yet done, we must soon take up the lamentation — "The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and our work is not done!"

Seriously, Mr. President, I know not what calculations others are making, but I expect the next six or twelve months will decide the destiny of our Republic; and nothing but the most gigantic and unprecedented efforts can avail us anything. Some people seem to suppose the crisis has already passed, that the day of mobs has gone by, and that there is no danger of despotic legislation against freedom of speech and of the press. There is a little respite, at the present moment, I know, and we ought to improve it; there is a temporary calm, and we should prepare for the tempest it betokens! If I mistake not, Sir, the aristocracy of this nation, at the North and at the South, are concentrating their energies for such a struggle with *freedom*, as the world has never yet witnessed. Never, Sir, was the cause of universal despotism called upon to make such an onset before. She has contended with bayonets and brute force, and on that battle ground, Sir, she is at home. But never, Sir, since the days of Moses and Aaron, has she been thus challenged by moral power, by the breath of *almighty truth*, to such a contest. Will she surrender at discretion? No, Sir! Gog and Magog are already marshalling their legions. Just at this crisis, they hardly know where to begin. They are calling on each other to take the lead. The South calls upon the North. Congress is looking to State Authorities, the States to Congress, and mob law is resting on her oars to see whether statute law will do her despotic work more effectually. If so, well. If not, she rushes like the famished lioness to her prey.

Mark me, Sir, though no son of a prophet, I predict there will yet be a fearful effort to crush the liberties of this people by legislation. Our literary, theological, and political giants are not furbishing their steel and mustering their armies for nothing. The trial will be made, unless foreclosed by their sudden and simultaneous exposure before the entire people. This is the work that is needed *now*. If it is not promptly done, the people will sleep on, till their chains are riveted, and despotism established on her throne. Or if this effort should fail — if legislation should not succeed — then, Sir, some six or twelve months hence, unless discomfited by our broad flash of pure light, entering into every dark crevice of our land, the combined forces of aristocracy and anarchy will be let loose again — not in the mere boy's play of hurling rotten eggs and brick-bats — not in the mere predatory skirmishes of southern Lynch law; but in that nameless development of which the annals of the world afford no parallel — before the records of which the bloody story of the first French Revolution will become stale and insipid — in a word, by that unprecedented catastrophe, for which the unprecedented blessings and corruptions of this nation have for so long a period been ripening her!

Mr. President, what are abolitionists doing? What are they expecting? Is it by less than the Levitical tithe of income? Is it by two or three days' labor, or rather amusement, in the course of the coming year, that they can save themselves, their country, their posterity, their liberties, and the cause of holy freedom on the earth? No, Sir! They have not begun to understand the crisis, nor their responsibilities — no, nor even their personal interests. We stand, Sir, where John Hancock and John Adams stood, when they signed the Declaration we have now signed, of *inalienable human rights!* We stand, Sir, as they did, with a price upon our heads, and the halter preparing for our necks, unless

we succeed, and that speedily. They pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. We must do the same, Sir. And it must not be a "mere flourish of rhetoric." The pledge must be part of the price! What shall it profit a man, to save his wealth and lose his own life? or his liberty, which is dearer than life?

To resume the illustration I just used, Sir, — We are entering upon the crisis of our voyage. The narrow passage is before us — the hidden shoals are around and beneath us. Dark scuds are lowering on the horizon. The coral groves are just under our stern. The Monsoon of freedom, enjoyed by our fathers, seems dying away. Our sails are spread — we are rippling the water. But the currents, Sir, how set the currents? The landmarks, where are they? Aye, Sir, the landmarks! The syren song is, "you are going too fast." Alas, Sir, you are not going half fast enough! Shake out every reef. Stretch every rag of canvass. Lash the watchman to the mast-head. Look out for the land astern, lest the voyage be lost, and ages of darkness and tempests intervene, before the setting in of another favorable Monsoon.

Rev. C. P. Grosvenor introduced, and ably advocated the following resolution.

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, having incurred great expense, and being now deeply in debt, in consequence of its great exertions in the cause of abolition, we recommend to auxiliary Societies and other friends of the cause, to contribute liberally in aid of its funds — and that a collection be now taken and a subscription be now opened, for this purpose.

This resolution was sustained also by S. E. Sewall, Esq. of this city, Geo. Russell of Kingston, and Isaac Winslow of Danvers, each in a strain of remark, which evinced a spirit ready to spend and be spent in a cause, to which they were asking others to contribute. In consequence of this appeal, a contribution was immediately gathered of $105 in cash, and in subscriptions amounting to $1045 for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and $75 dollars for the Liberator.

The following resolutions were then offered and supported in a short, impressive speech by Dr. Sylvanus Brown.

Resolved, That the members of this Convention consider their sentiments as abolitionists to be in strict conformity with the spirit and precept of the Gospel, and that as such we believe it is our religious duty to propagate them, and to pray for their universal extension and success.

Resolved, That it is the duty of this Convention and of all true and consistent abolitionists to ascribe their success to God — and peculiarly at this time it is our duty and privilege with thanksgiving and praise to say, hitherto hath the Lord helped us.

Resolved, That relying on God for wisdom, strength and guidance, we will unitedly and individually implore his Omnipotent help, to eradicate Slavery from our beloved country — in the full belief of that gracious promise, that every plant that our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up.

Rev. Orange Scott then introduced the following resolution, which was adopted unanimously.

Resolved, That we mark with grateful reverence the example set before us by the philanthropists of Britain respecting the abolition of Slavery, and report to them, with hearts deeply penetrated, the faithfulness and success of the no-

ble spirits they have sent to our aid; and that in view of this entire awakened country, roused by George Thompson to a knowledge of its cherished enmity to emancipation, we owe to him, and those who granted his aid to our request, to be more and more faithful to the cause, to which he sacrificed all his personal interests at the hazard of his life.

Mr. President:—

Great Britain has truly set us a noble example. She has abolished slavery throughout her dominions. She has learned that colored men have *souls* — that colored men have *rights*. An act of the British Parliament, which took effect on the 1st of August, 1834, created, in a single day, eight hundred thousand British citizens! yes sir, eight hundred thousand goods and chattels changed into intelligent beings, claiming and enjoying the rights of citizens! A relic only of by-gone dark ages remains—the six years apprenticeship system, to *prepare the slaves for freedom*. But, sir, while the light of these apprenticeship Islands may be compared to the stars of heaven, Antigua and Bermuda, where emancipation was immediate and *unconditional*, shine forth with the splendor of the sun at noon day, showing us, incontrovertibly, that immediate emancipation is safest and best. And we cannot believe, that the British Parliament will suffer the apprenticeship system to continue through the six years.

We find it very convenient, Mr. President, to apologize for the present race of man-stealers, by saying slavery was imposed upon us when we were British colonies. But when England repents of her sins and washes out her stains, and then sends her eloquent Thompson to lecture us on the evils of slavery, and stir us up to repentance, we shrink from the light which makes manifest, and cry out "foreign emissary!" We love our sins too well to be willing to accept of any aid, foreign or domestic, in getting rid of them. Mr. Thompson, however, has been signally instrumental in waking up our country. We had long been under the influence of a deadly lethargy—but the charm is broken. There is now an excitement through the whole length and breadth of the land. Every eye and every ear is open. The spirit of inquiry has gone forth. The abolitionists and their opponents have accomplished one object, which they have had in view from the beginning, that is, to wake up public attention to the subject of slavery. The rights of the colored man are now everywhere discussed and though in most instances, but one side of the subject is presented, yet better so than not at all. Slavery cannot be touched, pro or con, without making abolitionists. Let us have anything but dead silence. Our opponents are well aware that abolitionism is the *certain result* of discussion. And, therefore, to hush us to silence, they thunder and storm—they agitate the subject to put it to rest.

The visit of our beloved brother Thompsen, in connection with other means, has called forth (not created) the enmity, of slaveholders and their apelogists, to emancipation. It existed before; but the abolition hook has drawn out this Leviathan.

Mr. President, the abolition field is the *world*—and Mr. Thompson is still in *that* field. His voice shall still be heard—his influence shall still be felt. England keeps up this discussion, and will till the last slave is free!

It has been tauntingly said, that Mr. Thompson, in his mission to this country, was supported by a society of ladies. This circumstance, Sir, gives additional importance to that mission. The ladies were among the most efficient advocates of the suffering slave in England. And, indeed, they generally take the lead in

every good work. Who stood by the cross of Christ when he was crucified, after the most of his disciples had forsook him and fled? *Two women.* Who were first at his sepulchre, on the morn of his resurrection? *Women.* And women, Sir, are *constitutionally* abolitionists. We are not ashamed to acknowledge that the *women and children are with us.* Let us secure the co-operation of the ladies, and the gentlemen will not be far in the rear.

And now, Sir, what have the abolitionists done? or rather, in the words of Henry Clay, "what have they *not* done? Col. Benton says they have put back emancipation fifty years! Indeed! A set of "addle-headed fools" who are incapable of doing either good or hurt, have put *back* emancipation fifty years! But this seems to imply that there was some advance towards emancipation — if so, in what did it consist? Slaveholders tell us they never intend to emancipate their slaves — that they have the same objections to emancipation, however remote, as to immediate. How then could the abolitionists put that back fifty years, which is *never to take place?* Why, Sir, before half of fifty years are gone, every slave in our country will be as free as Col. Benton!

"But why," it is often asked, "do you discuss the subject of slavery in the North? There are no slaves here." So it seems we must not discuss the question in the North, because there are *no* slaves *here* — nor in the South, because there *are* slaves *there.* And the conclusion is, it must not be discussed at all. But, Sir, slavery will never be abolished, except by violent means, till the subject shall have been generally discussed, and that discussion, must, as a matter of course, commence in the North. So far from being permitted to go to the South in person, even our publications are Lynched, ere they reach their place of destination Northern discussion is, at present, the ONLY REMEDY. I know not that any other has been proposed or thought of. It is pretty generally admitted on all sides, that colonization can never free our country from slavery — and those who oppose discussion, propose nothing as a substitute. We are then to choose between *something* and *nothing.* We have seen the effect of the discussion of the slave question in England, and we never will give it up here till something better is proposed.

Sir, slavery is a sin against God and the rights of humanity — and this is a sufficient reason for discussing it *anywhere* and *everywhere.* The principle that one man can hold property in another, is a wicked principle, under all circumstances and in all places. The *principle*, the thing itself, is the same in the hands of a minister, church member, or infidel. No hands, no circumstances can sanctify it, or make it good. It is evil, only evil, and that continually. Slavery has been driven by the abolitionists into every nook and corner, till finally, as the last resort, it has taken refuge in the Bible — and there we are willing to meet it. By that book let it be tried, and by that it shall stand or fall.

Slavery, Mr. President, is a *national* sin, and, therefore, we discuss it in the North. It exists under the jurisdiction of the General Government. We hold the same relation to the sin of slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories, as the Southern States do. Northern Representatives and Senators make a part of that Congress, which must abolish slavery in those places, if it be ever abolished. But, Sir, I must stop. My heart is full. I should be glad to say more, but the lateness of the hour precludes further remarks from me. The day star of freedom has arisen. The light of universal emancipation dawns upon our land, and upon the world. The redemption of millions draws nigh. A national jubilee is at hand!

For want of time the following resolution was also offered and passed without eliciting any remarks, by Samuel Norris of Salisbury.

Resolved, That this Convention highly approve of the circulation of the *Anti-Slavery Almanac*, and recommend to all those who sympathize with the oppressed victims of slavery, to assist in scattering it as widely as possible.

Adopted.

Rev. Mr. Storrs of Concord, N. H., offered the following, and in a few minutes said much that was worth preserving.

Resolved, That, inasmuch as the *daily practice* of abolitionists ought to bear in every possible way upon this subject, we recommend the establishment as soon as hereafter may be, of a free labor store in Boston, which shall supply the auxiliary Societies throughout the State with the means of supplying such stores in the vicinity of each society.

By Rev. J. V. Himes of Boston,

Resolved, That freedom of speech and freedom of the press, being the only sure foundations of free institutions, the recent attempts throughout our country to prevent and interrupt the meetings, and suppress the publications of abolitionists, by lawless violence, ought to be looked on with horror and alarm by every friend of his country, of liberty, and of the human race.

The audience then rose and united in singing, to the tune of Old Hundred —

"From all that dwell below the skies," &c.

The following ingenious disquisition upon the Constitution was offered to the meeting on the afternoon of the 20th, in the course of the debate, which arose upon the resolution offered by the Rev. H. C. Wright. We wish the argument of the gentleman on the other side had been also furnished us for publication.

MR. PRESIDENT, —

Since the opponents of our cause seem determined to dishonor the Constitution of our country, by ascribing to it so foul a doctrine as the righteousness of slavery, I must esteem it of great importance to vindicate the Constitution from such reproach. We ought, first of all, to determine what the Constitution is; and I conceive it to consist first and essentially in principles, and secondly, in the form of government. I am not ignorant that the propensity is prevalent to consider and speak of that part of the Constitution, which is the mere form of our government, as the entire Constitution: but I know that a body without a soul is not a man, and that a *form* of government, without the *principles* on which the government is to be administered, is a political corpse.

Every government is based on some principles, and in a Republic those principles ought to be recorded and annunciated, or there can be no stability, and the people must be in darkness and be liable to any abuses, which unprincipled rulers may impose on them, through such false constructions of constitutional provisions as may suit the purposes of tyranny. The people, in a republic, are the interpretors of the Constitution, which they themselves have framed. In order that, from generation to generation, the people may have some clear, fixed, unalterable standard, by which they may interpret the provisions of their Constitution, some fundamental principles must be agreed on and published to be perpetually kept before the minds of the whole community. Shall the government always be administered on principles of righteousness? Then those principles must be settled at the beginning.

The notion is monstrous, that the interpretation of the Constitution is submitted to any one man, or to any legislature or court, absolutely and exclusively. This would give to that individual or that body of men, a power as mighty

ERRATUM.

Page 64. The name of Rev. C. P. Grosvenor should have been inserted as the author of the disquisition on the Constitution.

and as dangerous as was ever usurped by single or aristocratic despotism. In this republic, the right and the duty of interpretation is everywhere — in the Supreme Court — in the President — in each house of Congress — in the State Governments, and in every citizen. All these act as checks and balances on each other, so that the error of one may be corrected by the judgment of others. Herein lies our security. Without this we have no security. And now, to aid and guide the whole to a right interpretation, well-defined principles must be laid at the foundation. This was done in the Declaration of Independence. To show that I am not in error here, I need only adduce the universal practice of reading that document, or re-declaring its principles on every fourth of July. This is not done for the purpose of annually asserting our independence of Great Britain. Such an annual act would long before now have become ridiculous in the extreme. As well might the man of sixty celebrate the anniversary of his freedom which he attained at twenty-one. A worthier motive than this prompts the nation to review the principles of righteous and rightful liberty, every year. It is to keep in view and to transmit to posterity those great, foundation, vital principles of our Constitution — those principles which impart to the *form* of our government all its life, and energy, and stability. Accordingly, the following portion of the Declaration has usually been read with peculiar emphasis, and heard with thrilling interest. "We hold these truths to be *self-evident*, that *all men* are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain *unalienable* rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." This portion of the Declaration contains precisely the view I am now taking of our government. "To institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form," &c. Principles and form. Our fathers saw that to organize in "form" without "principles," would be creating a body without life. They, therefore, annunciated to the world, the principles on which they intended to erect the political edifice. And, inasmuch as their purpose was not to rear a Babel, nor to establish a government of rapine and wrong, they sought out and laid down those principles, which were settled as righteous — as "self-evident truths," and on these they declared they would build the government. And who, of the present generation, will avow himself ignorant of "self-evident truths?" or who will so defame the memory of the worthy dead as to impute to the fathers of our country the hypocrisy of avowing as "self-evident" such "truths" as they did avow, and then, in the eye of the world and of God, practically disavow these same "self-evident truths," by insinuating into the "form" of government, which they "organized" principles by themselves and everywhere and eternally known to be antagonist to those just avowed by themselves? That those, who impute to the framers of the Constitution such duplicity, may, in some instances, not be aware how they tarnish the moral character of such men as Washington, and Franklin, and King, and Sherman, and Langdon, and their associates, I must admit, though it is difficult; but no greater infamy can well be conceived, than that these men, some of them, Sherman, Franklin, and others, being signers of the Declaration in 1776, should in 1788 set their names to any instrument, which was intended to wrest from a portion of the "all men created equal and endowed by their Creator with the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," should set their names to any instrument intended to wrest from them all these very rights, and to place in the hands of tyrants a "guaranty" to withhold them by a nation's consent and a nation's power, and to inflict on the subjects of such oppression, at will, I do not say all those punishments, for it is absurd to speak of punishment without a crime, but to inflict on them all those sufferings to which pride, avarice, and passion may prompt the holders of absolute, irresponsible authority. The slaves are "men" and the "unalienable rights of all men" can with no more justice be denied them than any other men.

But I have not yet done with the principles on which our venerated fathers

founded this Republic. Those broad principles are, indeed, expressed by them in few words. So the Savior of the world declared the great Constitutional principles of the government of God in few words; "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments (foundation principles,) hang all the law and the prophets." Every article and clause in the form of the divine government is to be interpreted in accordance with these two great principles; and as, so interpreted, the law of God cannot admit of, but condemns oppression among men, in other words cannot admit of, but condemns slavery, the most enormous and flagitious of all oppression; so neither can the constitution of this nation, interpreted as it ought to be, in accordance w th the great principles of right, contained in the nation's own Bill of Rights, or taken as part and parcel of the whole government — the whole constitution, embracing principles and form — admit of, but condemns all oppression, above all, slavery, compared with which all oppression, which can be measured by dollars and cents, becomes light as air. The people will so interpret their Constitution, and correct the errors which have been stealing their way almost unobserved into the counsels of the nation. As one of the people, I am bound in patriotism so to interpret the Constitution of my country.

Slavery exists, I know, and I blush to know, under both National and State Laws; but that it harmonizes with the principles of this nation's government — that it is constitutional, I deny, and thousands before me have denied. Every man has denied it, who has ever admitted that slavery is inconsistent with the nation's Bill of Rights, for by the principles of that Bill of Rights it is evinced too clearly for a school-boy to misunderstand, that this government is not constitutionally, though it may be practically, a slaveholding government. Mark the words I have already quoted. Let me call up again a phrase or two, which may have been passed over with too little regard to the full import. After declaring "that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with the unalienable rights of life and liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, the framers of the government add, that to secure these rights — mark it — to secure, not to create, nor to trample into the dust, these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their *just* powers from the consent" (not a a consent coerced, of course,) the free, cheerful consent of the governed. Our fathers being the judges, therefore, if any powers had been by the provisions of the form of government conferred on one class of the people, to take away or to withhold these rights of life and liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, those powers would have been *unjust*. Again hear the framers of the government, "whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends," viz. the securing to the governed of the rights specified, "it is the right of the people, the governed, to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principle, and organizing its powers in such form as to them (the people, the governed) shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." The slaves are a part of "the governed," here spoken of by our fathers, and what are we taught respecting their rights? Who believes it possible that the very men who, "appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of their intentions," declared these to be the principles of the government they intended to form, would or did, while thus under solemn oath, dare introduce into the provisions of the Constitution any "guaranty" or any thing like a guaranty to any man or to any State for wresting from any portion of "the people" to be "governed" all those very "rights" for the security of which all "just" governments are established, and which "the governed" have "the right" to assert by subverting, "throwing off," the oppressive government, and instituting another? If they had inserted any such guaranty in the form of government they instituted, their own avowed principles would be a fire to burn out the incongruous and iniquitous article, how covertly soever the "leprous spot" had been worded in upon the body politic.

But, though many of our opponents acknowledge the glaring inconsistency of slavery with the "principles" of the government, as contained in the Bill of Rights, they still contend that the Constitution does contain provisions, which amount to a guaranty for slave-holding in three or four clauses, and,

therefore, we must submit or destroy the Constitution. So Gov. McDuffie, of South Carolina, who in his Message a year ago called "the Constitution a miserable mockery of tattered and blotted parchment," and averred that the South must seek a better guaranty for retaining their property in human beings than is found in it, this year claims that "Slavery is the corner stone of our Republican edifice." And how widely do they differ from him, who tell us that, if we touch slavery we shall destroy the Union? These last, perhaps, find more of something like a "guaranty" in the Constitution, than even the keen-eyed McDuffie. Three or four times allusion at least is made to slavery. First, in the article which provides for the apportionment of Representatives and direct taxes. Secondly, in the article which provides for the reclaiming of a person held to service or labor in one State escaping into another State. Thirdly, in the article respecting the immigration or importation of foreigners. Fourthly, and triumphantly, in the article touching reserved rights. In opposition to all this, I aver that there is no word or phrase in the Constitution of the United States, which necessarily signifies or implies the idea of slavery, so that no alteration of the Constitution would be at all needful, if slavery were abolished to-day. No definition, suiting the condition of a slave, is found in it. Nothing is said of men owned or held as the property of others. "All other persons" —"a person held to service or labor to be reclaimed by the party to whom such service or labor may be due" — "persons immigrating or imported to this country" — are phrases entirely consistent with the idea of freedom in all of the "persons" spoken of. For, in law, slaves are not persons but "property — goods and chattels — chattels personal."

Much reliance is placed, also, on the phrase — "person held to service or labor." But an apprentice is such a "*person*," held to service or labor, while he is neither "property," nor "goods and chattels."

In regard to "reserved rights," I need only say that if the *right* (the *wrong*) of holding "men as property" is reserved to the States, because the Constitution does not in its provisions take *such a right* into the hands of the United States, I may claim for the States the reserved right of *robbery*, on the ground that *this right* is not claimed by the Constitution of the United States.

My only object has been, in these remarks, to show that there is nothing in the language of the Constitution which implies any guaranty for slave-holding. Most certainly there is not a word in the Constitution which confers on Congress the power of enacting slave laws; and yet Congress has *presumed* to enact such laws. Are these laws constitutional? certainly not, and any citizen of the United States has the constitutional right to prove them to be so; for freedom of speech and of the press is expressly established by that Constitution, and by the Constitutions of the several States, which right, no patriot or christian will surrender, but with his life.

But again, it is said that the provisions of the Constitution have been construed to contain a recognition of the right of slave-holding. This I shall not deny. Both the laws of Congress, and the Constitutions and laws of several of the States, undoubtedly, so construe the Constitution. But the question to be answered at this point is — Is such construction to be taken as *proof* that slavery is guarantied by the Constitution? Is any Constitution to be interpreted by the laws which are professedly based upon it? If so, we ought to ask whether any article of the Constitution is established by law, and not whether a law is constitutional? But I am not aware that such is the usual mode of treating the Constitution. I have supposed, and have I labored under a mistake? I have supposed that laws are to be tested by their agreement or disagreement with the Constitution; and not the Constitution by any laws enacted under it. The good old order of things has been reversed, or a law is to be approved or condemned as it is found to be constitutional or unconstitutional, and each provision of the Constitution is to be interpreted by the principles contained in the Bill of Rights; in other words, any construction put upon an article of the Constitution is to be sustained or rejected as it makes that article harmonize or conflict with the principles of the government as contained in the Bill of Rights.

Shall I be met here with a denial that the Declaration of Independence contains the Nation's Bill of Rights, or the principles on which our government is found-

ed? If so, it might be sufficient to hear the denial with silence and with shame for the objector. But, in this case, I may answer according to the folly of the objector, that I may reprove it by a simple reference to the fact, to which I have already alluded, that annually, on the fourth of July, it has been the practice throughout the nation, from its birth, to rehearse the Declaration of Independence, for the purpose of refreshing the memories of the people with the *great fundamental principles* on which the government is erected, that every man may be reminded of the sound and solid foundation of our Republican edifice, and, keeping them as the apple of the eye, may hold them up in holy defiance of all political aspirants, who may be disposed to elevate themselves at the expense of the rights of others. In doing this, we have professed not to be supremely selfish. We have hoped to see the thrones of foreign despotism subverted by these principles of right. We have thundered them in the ears of all nations, till the earth rang again. This is the noise that ye have heard for more than half a century. We have sympathized with the valiant Poles and struggling Greeks, and it was our principles of independence which prompted such sympathy. But must we forget the application of these principles to the cruelly oppressed in our own country? Must we bow with reverential awe, or rather with recreant servility, before the haughty "throne of iniquity," erected on the bodies and souls — the most precious rights — the groans and tears of millions of our own fellow-citizens, thousands of them being of "the posterity" of that generation of Americans, who resisted unto blood the principles and the impositions of tyrants, and established this republic "to secure to themselves and to *their posterity*, the blessings of Liberty?"

Shall we refrain from making application of the holy principles, which our fathers derived directly from the oracles of God, and made the basis of this government, and which they expected their children would as fearlessly apply to the *form* of government, under which they placed them as they applied the cannon-shot to the strong holds of their oppressors? Shall we refrain from doing this, under a cowering, servile fear of giving offence to any class of men? Is the fear — the high authority of God himself to be disregarded, and its place in our hearts supplied with the fear and quaking of the *hypocrite?* For hypocrisy it must be — hypocrisy, foul and damning as possessed the heart of Judas — to profess the holding of the righteous, heaven-derived principles of the Bill of Rights, while in our works we deny them.

Let the nation retract her pretensions to all political piety, and rescind her declaration of those holy principles, and stand out before God and mankind the unblushing advocate of despotism, the object of Jehovah's wrath and of the world's scorn,— or honestly apply those principles to every provision of her Constitution — that it may be purified of all the pollution, which has been imposed on it, and stand forth to the eyes of all nations, as the most righteous and best of all Constitutions, and to the eye of Him, who made all men equal, and endowed them with the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, as a worthy transcript of His own holy constitution of government.

* * * * *

The starting of objections like those I have noticed, strongly indicates the weakness of the cause in which they originate. If slavery be capable of defence by the Constitution interpreted by the principles, which lie at the foundation of the government, let its advocates manfully meet us in argument on that ground. Why do they not? It is there every great question of government must be settled, or remain unsettled. And is it patriotism? is it honor? is it worthy of Americans to perpetuate the present unsettled state of things? Let there be decision that we may have peace, which can never be enjoyed, while the nation is like the troubled sea, which cannot rest.

Dr. **Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in Account with James C. Odiorne, Treasurer.** **Cr.**

1836				1835			
Jan.19	To Cash paid Am. A. S. Society,	$ 500	00	Jan.20	By Bal. old acc't.	$ 11	86
	" " " to Canaan Academy,	100	00	1836			
	" " " B. C. Bacon, as Clerk, and office expenses,	605	93	Jan.19	" Donations,	4360	49
	" " " E. S. Gage, for services,	121	83		" Rents,	201	75
	" " " Thomas Paul, for services,	20	83		" Proceeds of articles sold,	107	82
	" " " Henry E. Benson,	183	89		" Bal. to new account,	3	24
	" " " Samuel J. May, Secretary,	668	15				
	" " " Mr. May's travelling expenses,	159	20				
	" " " C. P Grosvenor, Agent,	500	00				
	" " " Mission of Mr. and Mrs. Child,	248	00				
	" " " George Thompson, for services, &c.	497	61				
	" " " Garrison & Knapp, on acc't,	250	00				
	" " " C. C. Burleigh, as Clerk,	24	00				
	" " " Rents of office and halls,	228	20				
	" " " H. B. Stanton,	25	00				
	" " " Webster & Southard, printers,	41	15				
	" " " Gas Light Company,	15	22				
	" " " Rev. Mr. Camp, Washington, D.C.	25	00				
	" " " John Gulliver's bill,	16	20				
	" " " J. W. Blanchard, for work,	75	09				
	" " " Publications,	19	60				
	" " " Incidental Expenses,	361	09				
		$ 4685	16			$4685	16
	Bal. old acc't.	3	24				

Boston, January 20, 1836.

Settled, E. E. JAMES C. ODIORNE, *Treasurer.*

BOSTON, *January* 25, 1836. Having examined the above account, I certify that the same is correctly cast and properly vouched.

S. E. SEWALL, *Auditor.*

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS TO THE SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1835.

Allen Sidney	$1,00
Abbott Joseph	1,00
Andover A. S. Society	30,00
Acton A. S. Society	9,46
Ashburnham A. S. Society	12,00
Alcott A. B.	5,00
Abbott J. B.	1,00
Amesbury and Salisbury A. S. Society	23,47
" Female A. S. Society	13,00
" " "	15,00
Adams Sarah B.	50
Annual Meeting Collection	34,64
Brown W. C.	1,00
Brewer Geo. A.	1,00
Budd Nathaniel	1,00
Bowdoin Street A. S. Society	11,25
Brown Eunice	2,00
Boydon N. B.	10,00
Bacon O. P.	2,00
Bacon Mrs. B. C.	1,00
Burleigh C. C.	5,00
Bowen A.	5,00
Birney J. G.	1,00
Barry C. C.	2,00
Brown Thomas	2,00
Bont Rev. Mr.	3,00
Bradford A. S. Society	50,00
Bulfinch Thomas	10,00
Boston A. F.	15,00
Brown Moses	20,00
Billings N.	50
Boston Female A. S. Society	73,00
" " "	77,00
Carpenter James	1,00
Colley Benj. E.	1.00
Correy Francis	1,00
Comstock Willliam	1,00
Cheever G. B, by Salem Ladies	15,00
Currier Ebenezer	1,00
Cambell Jeremiah	1,00
Child Mrs.	1,50
Capron W. C.	1,00
Chapman Mrs. H. G.	5,00
Chapman Miss A. G.	5,00
Capron E. L.	20,00
Crandall Phineas	1,00
Contribution at Convention	57,20
Collection at Julien Hall July 4	14,00
Chute D.	20,00
Cross J. W.	5,00
Carleton William	25,00
Clapp Richard	20.00
Cross Rev. W.	20,00
Cowles J. P.	1,00
Chapman Henry	15,00
Cambridge Port A. S. Society	30,00
Cowper A. S. Society	5,00
Concord friends	10,00
Danforth William	1,00
Davis Geo. H.	1,00
Dearborn E. B.	1,00
Duncan J. G.	1,00
Domond Rev. Mr.	5,00
Dorchester Contribution	6,25
Danvers "	12,52
Dorchester A. S. Society	40,00
Ewins Alexander	50
Editor of Worcester Spy	2,50
Emerson Geo. B.	50,00
Friends in Amherst College	7,00
Follen Charles	17,00
Fuller John E.	5,00
Fifield Winthrop	1,00
Friends at Convention	34,00
Farnsworth C. B.	1,00
Fall River Gentlemen	25,00
Friends	5,00
Farnsworth Walter	20,00
Farley James	1,00
Greenwood Ira	1,00
Gamage Amory	1,00
Grosvenor C. P. by Salem Ladies	15,00
Grimke A. E.	50,00
Groton A. S. Society	11,75
Gilbert Timothy	26,00
Gregg William	2,00
Gregg Daniel	20,00
Gill Peroz	20,00
Horsey Lewis	1,00
Hill Sumner	1,00
Hill Converse	1,00
Holton J. F.	3,00
Hendice Phillis	25
Himes J. V. by Boston Ladies	15,00
Haverhill Ladies for Rev. Mr. Perry	15,00
" " Rev. Mr. Plummer	15,00
Hale Eusebius	1,00
Hilton J. T.	4,00
Hall Rev. Robert B.	5,00
Hollis Thomas	5,00
Higginson D.	5,00
Hinckley Albert	2,00
Holman J. W.	1,00
Hadley friends	5,00
Hollis John 3d	50
Hayward Wm. H.	25.00
Holliston A. S. Society	13,99
Hildreth Charles T.	20,00
Haverhill A. S. Society	50,00
Jackson Francis	85,00
Jackson Edmund	20,00
Kingston Ladies for A. Jackson	15,00
Keith Royal	1,00
Kingsbury Benj.	1,00
Kimball Moses	20,00
Kimball John S.	25.00
Libbey Tristam	1,00
Libbey Daniel	1,00
Lincoln James	1,00
Lovell Rev. Mr.	2,00
Loring Ellis Gray	100,00
Little C. G.	1,00
Lane A. A.	2,00
Lewis J. W.	2,00
Lady of Leicester	3,00
Lynn A. S. Society	100,00
Lynn Female A. S. Society	30,00
Medway West, friends in	10,50
Morrill James	2,00
Middleboro' A. S. Society	12,62
Milbury A. S. Society	18,00
Macomber I.	10,00
New Bedford Friends	77,50
Newburyport A. S. Society	50,00
Noyes Mr. of W. Newbury	2,00
Odiorne Ed. G.	1,00
Oliver James P.	1,00
Oakes William	30,00
Perry Gardner B.	1,00
Parlin Sarah	1,50

Pickett Aaron	1,00
Pawtuckot Delegation	7,00
Pratt Edward	10,00
Putnam Jesse	1,00
Pope Joshua	2,00
Prince J.	1,00
Peabody Albert	1,00
Purington J. P.	2,00
Philbrick Samuel	51,00
Pourin Samuel	50
Pilchett E. C.	1,00
Plymouth Co. A. S. Society	80,50
Plymouth Friends	30,00
Pratt A. C.	1,00
Pratt Lucy	1,00
Parker Lucy	3,00
Rabbins Joseph	1,00
Russell George	3,00
Raymond J.	5,00
Rogers John	1,00
Robinson Thomas T.	1,00
Reading Contributions	15,48
Ratch William	100,00
Reading Female A. S. Society	34 50
Robinson John	2,00
Reading, a friend in	1,00
Ripley Rev. Mr. of Marshfield	1,00
Reading South A. S. Society	20,00
Robinson Andrew	100,00
Smith Stephen	1,00
Salem St. A. S. Society	103,00
Sewall Joseph	15,00
Scituate North A. S. S.	1,50
Stow Baron by Boston ladies	15,00
Stranger at Convention	1000,00
Sanger Abner	5,00
Shipley Mrs. S. G.	2,00
Sullivan John	19,00
Snowden Samuel	1,00
Shore Azariah	3,00
Simmons Charles	1,00
Sanford Luke A.	1,00
Southwick Edward	101,00
Southwick Joseph	51,50
Sandwich A. S. Society	7,00
Scituate A. S. Society	4,81
Seagrave Edward	15,00
Sewall Samuel E.	25,00
Thurston Nathaniel	1,00
Thomas Daniel	5,00
Taunton A. S. Society	40,00
Union A. S. Society	5,00
Vermont A. S Society	30,00
Walker Amasa	25,00
Waldock James	2,00
Watson Eliza	15,00
Woodbridge Thomas	1,00
Winslow Nathan	10.00
Williston Samuel	11,00
Winslow S. H.	50,00
Weston Miss A.	1,00
Weston Miss D.	1,00
White James C.	2,00
Waters A. H.	1,00
Wilson David	2,00
Wakefield William Jr.	1,00
Whittier J. G.	3,00
Waldock Mrs. N.	2,00
Whipple P. B.	2,00
Wright H. C.	15,00
Whiting Marcus	50,00
Wrentham friends	7,37
Willson H.	1,00
Withington I. S.	25,60
Winslow Isaac	50,00
Worcester Co. North Society	85,00

LIFE MEMBERS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

JOHN KENRICK,* Newton, Mass.
PRINCE FARMER, Salem, Mass.
JOHN REMOND, do.
CHARLES STUART, England.
GEORGE THOMPSON, do.
EDWARD S. ABDY, do.
SAMUEL E SEWALL, Boston.
DANIEL GREGG, do.
CHARLES C. BARRY, do.
ELLIS GRAY LORING, do.
JAMES C. ODIORNE, do.
ISAAC KNAPP, do.
WM. H. HAYWARD, do.
INCREASE GILBERT, do.
Rev. E. M. P. WELLS, do.
WM. LLOYD GARRISON, do.
BENJAMIN C. BACON, do.
Rev. HENRY JONES, Cabot, Vt.
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Mrs. C. WINSLOW, do.
Mrs. J. C. SMITH, Boston.
Miss SUSAN PAUL, Boston.
WM. ROTCH, Jr. New-Bedford.
ANDREW ROBINSON, do.
* Deceased.

Dr. C. FOLLEN, Milton.
Rev. GEO. B. CHEEVER, Salem.
Rev. C P. GROSVENOR, do.
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FRANCIS JACKSON, Esq. do.
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JOHN SULLIVAN, do.
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D. CHUTE, do.
JOHN S. KIMBALL, do.
MARCUS WHITING, do.
TIMOTHY GILBERT, do.
Rev. BARON STOW, do.
Rev. J. V. HIMES, do.
JOSEPH SOUTHWICK, do.
AMASA WALKER, do.
JOHN C. SMITH, do.
EDMUND JACKSON, do.
WILLIAM CARLETON, do.
GEO B. EMERSON, do.
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